



Daily Report

East Europe

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Tuesday
22 November 1988

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China Accused of 'Cooperation With Bourgeoisie'
AU1011201688 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
6 Nov 88 p 6

[Dalan Shaplo article: "Novel of Major Conflicts"]

[Excerpts] Ismail Kadare's novel "Concert at Winter's End" has aroused readers' interest because of its complexity, its broad canvas of significant scenes involving our recent history, and, of course, for its fresh and original style which is as poetic as it is expansive and contemplative. [passage omitted]

Without wishing to pin down the book to one genre, I would say that this is a novel of the sociopolitical type in which the great political events of the seventies find full and multifaceted artistic portrayal. This is done with a subject that is sometimes treated in a traditional way, with the description of relationships among imagined characters who are typical of our society, and which sometimes, without much affecting the construction of the plot, switches to such historical characters as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Lin Biao, and so forth, in order to give a full panorama of the times, and to describe the political and internal, psychological motivation that led to revisionist standpoints, myths, and grotesqueness in the real world. [passage omitted]

In writing such a novel, I. Kadare has doubtlessly relied upon artistic invention, but has also relied strongly on real events, on situations as actually experienced and their inner meaning. In this, the profound thoughts and historically-supported and well-reasoned dialectical standpoints of Comrade Enver Hoxha's "Notes on China" have helped him greatly. In the present work, the figure of Enver emerges more through party-minded attitudes in the interpretation of events, and in the preservation of independence and continuity on the road of Marxism-Leninism. The author provides a lapidary picture of Enver Hoxha at certain key moments, especially at the party Central Committee plenum, where he turns to the putschist military officers and denounces the order they have issued (in the episode with the minister D.) to surround a district party committee with tanks during military maneuvers, as well as at certain other points.

The spirit of the work is party-minded and patriotic. The passion that pervades it is a social and political passion that embarks from the idea that socialism, revolution, patriotism, humanism, a view of the person as a free social being (within the class concept), tradition and innovation, and other ideological and moral concepts are bound together and cannot be separated from each other in a one-sided and arbitrary fashion. Such separations lead to ridiculous positions that cannot be reconciled with either Marxism-Leninism or proper human relations. Such separations lead to positions that are comic, but at the same time tragic, because in essence they are not merely a matter of reading a few quotations, or of a

superficial and transient cult; they go deeper, to a flagrant degradation of the human personality that assumes many forms. This includes the use of Red Guards and wall newspapers in order to preserve autocratic, almost god-like power at all costs, while writers, artists, and men of science are reduced to crawling through the mud of the rice paddies. All lively and creative thought is extinguished, true art is annihilated, and Shakespeare, Beethoven, Tolstoy, and other artists who are the pride of mankind are forgotten! This extreme, dogmatic, and ludicrous position was accompanied by a pragmatic, right-wing policy that admitted compromise and cooperation with the bourgeoisie, which turned now toward the Soviet Union, and now toward America, not for definite reasons of principle, but to ensure a slice of world hegemony, and—why not?—emerge as leader of the world. The complex nature and democratic-revolutionary essence of the Chinese revolution, and the historical merit of creating the new China and eliminating hunger have been explained clearly by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and have also illuminated the writer's work, of course in accordance with the times he is writing about and the artistic aims he has set for himself.

However, as the author underlines, China is a great country with ancient and admirable cultural traditions, and with a truly artistic and literary past. The death of Mao Zedong, creator of the new China, makes a simple porter in a Beijing hotel weep, and the writer who has come from Albania embraces him to console him. A complex feeling expressed in just a few lines remains in the mind among grotesque scenes with a critical meaning. Zhou Enlai's solemn expression of mourning at the concert, and his desire to open the brain of the cremated body, also create a very tragic image. [passage omitted]

An important thought stressed in the novel is the struggle against extreme standpoints, and against a leftism that becomes absurd in its denial of all tradition, and which embarks upon the supposed creation of a new form of man. The author's satire ridicules this idea in the scene involving the creation of a certain Le Fen by a commission "made pregnant by the Mao Zedong idea." This man's biography is supposed to include a death, and his manner of death is debated, with details I do not wish to repeat. Thus, a dead man is born, and the Chinese revisionists dream of spreading this kind of creature, without individual judgment, without brain, and befuddled with marijuana, to Albania and Europe. [passage omitted]

Babameto Returns From SFRY Conference
AU1911152488 Tirana ATA in English
0755 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—The minister of transportation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Luan Babameto, who participated in the meeting of the ministers of transportation of the Balkan states, held in Belgrade, arrived home on November 18.

On the way back he was received in Skopje by the vicechairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Macedonia, Vasil Vlasvisi, and the chairman of the Republican Committee for Construction, Town Planning, and the Protection of the Environment, Andrej Tokarev.

DPRK Foreign Ministry Group Holds Talks

AU1911130488 Tirana ATA in English
1042 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—A delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the director [title as received] Kil Kyong-choe, which arrived in our country on November 17, conducted talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on November 19.

In the course of the talks, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on the relations between the two countries, as well as on their further development.

AWP Delegation Returns From Spain 18 Nov

AU1911131088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] The delegation of the AWP Central Committee, led by Faik Cinaj, AWP Central Committee member and first secretary of the Vlore District AWP Committee, which attended the Fifth Congress of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Spain, returned home.

The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Agim Popa, director of the Foreign Directorate of the AWP Central Committee, and other comrades.

Illegal Land Use Criticized After Inspection

AU161112088 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
12 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Gezim Lleshi, of Tirana District Prosecutor's Office: "Failure To Enforce the Law Leaves Room for Abuses"]

[Text] The Tirana District Prosecutor's Office recently carried out an inspection of land use and management in the area separating the city from the countryside and the land of the agricultural enterprises, in other words, on the outskirts of the city. This inspection was carried out after various signs indicated that several hectares of cultivable land have not only not been worked for years, but have been exploited by various citizens in illegal ways. What emerged from this inspection?

Almost everywhere on the outskirts of Tirana, but particularly in the Breg i Lumit area and around the town of Vore, there is a significant area of land lying waste. For instance, all of the land area at Breg i Lumit has not been assigned to the administration of any agricultural enterprise. In Laprake alone, there are 2 hectares of land that

have not been worked for years and which were once administered by the meat combine. Moreover, new industrial sites on the edge of Tirana have "invaded" an excessive area of land with refuse of various kinds and buildings at random, and nobody thinks of using this land for productive purposes. A strange phenomenon is occurring: While investments are being made and mass actions being carried out to open up new land in the highlands and mountains, whole areas of arable land lie waste on the edge of the city! Still worse, this happens not only in Tirana, but on the outskirts of some other towns. How much production has been lost from such land? Working people in administrative offices attached to the executive committees of district people's councils should show more concern over such questions, because it is they who bear direct responsibility for the situation. The law is clear on this matter, but in some cases it is not enforced.

As the inspection showed, what is more worrying is that this land is not only not cultivated, but has become the object of speculation by irresponsible people and wheel-dealers. This land has been usurped by various citizens, who use it to acquire income in illegal ways. It is no coincidence that it was these very citizens who "invaded" this land who were unmasked in front of the people by the organs of justice in the city districts as manipulators and speculators who had tried to gain improper income from private trade. For instance, about 20,000 square meters of land were used by such citizens in the Breg i Lumit area, and 12,000 square meters of land were used without permission for such purposes in block no. 36 of the forestry enterprise near Vlore! The number of citizens who behave in this way is not small. There were 132 such cases in Breg i Lumit alone. Why do the managers of economic and agricultural enterprises allow so much of their land to be used selfishly by various citizens in illegal ways? Do they not know that land is the property of the state and of the entire people? By law, the state has allowed members of agricultural cooperatives to use certain areas of land to meet their personal needs. But to allow different citizens who may even be town-dwellers, residents of agricultural enterprises, or workers in state enterprises to lay their hand on the state's land is illegal and must be severely punished by the law. Who are the citizens who behave in this way, and why do they do so? Some are people without work who have come from other districts, but the majority are residents of Tirana in the third, seventh, and tenth districts. It is amazing that there are even some communists and councillors among them, such as Seit Mema, secretary of the fourth party base organization in the tenth district; Ismail Bani of the village of Tufine, and a party member; Qemal Qafmolla, member of the People's Council of the village of Shish-Tufine; Jakup Citako, member of the Democratic Front Presidium of block 15 in the third district, and so forth.

This means that shortcomings in the work of the Tirana City People's Councils, especially those of the third, seventh, and tenth districts, have not only allowed land

to lie waste, but to be exploited for the personal use of different citizens in illegal ways.

What was done after the tour of inspection by the organs of the state? After a detailed and realistic assessment of the situation, those in charge of party and state organs in the district and the chairmen of the executive committees of the three above-mentioned districts were informed. Those in charge of the state organs in the third district took urgent measures, enforcing the law against the citizens who had behaved in such a way. At the same time, steps were taken to put this land to use immediately. In the other two districts—the seventh, and particularly in the tenth, where the problem was especially severe—only mild and half-hearted steps were taken. So much so that the chairmen of the executive committees of the two districts, even though days passed after the report from the Prosecutor's Office reached them, did not even reply, although they were obliged by law to report the measures they had taken to the District Prosecutor's Office within 10 days. Is not this a culpably liberal attitude? We think that such attitudes must be changed at once, and that all the land lying waste on the outskirts of Tirana should be put to productive use as fast as possible.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 5-11 Nov

AU1111154688 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 5-11 November reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The Korce District AWP Committee hosted a dinner on 7 November on the occasion of the 47th anniversary of the founding of the Albanian communist party: Ramiz Alia and Pali Miska attended the dinner, as well as a festive concert. (1430 GMT 8 November) Ramiz Alia and Pali Miska also visited a mining center in Korce District on 9 November. (1900 GMT 9 November)

On 8 November Adil Carcani, Lenka Cuko, Simon Stefani, Manush Myftiu, Hekuran Isai, Llambi Gegprifti, and Pirro Kondi visited the AWP Museum in Tirana and viewed the new Enver Hoxha monument erected in the center of Tirana. (1900 GMT 8 November)

The Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly met on 7 November under the chairmanship of Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee (CC) member and secretary. (1900 GMT 7 November)

A ceremony was held at the "Enver" engineering plant in Tirana on the occasion of its 40th anniversary. Hajredin Celiku, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, was also present. (1430 GMT 8 November)

A children's playground was opened on 6 November in the third district of Tirana. Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, attended the ceremony. (1900 GMT 6 November)

The new Danish ambassador to Albania was received on 10 November by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. (1900 GMT 10 November)

Von Weizsaecker, Delegation Continue Visit

Von Weizsaecker, Zhivkov Meet

AU2111152388 Sofia BTA in English
1438 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—Topical issues of bilateral relations and the situation in the world are in the centre of talks which started in this country today, between Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria and F.R.G. President Richard von Weizsaecker, who arrived last night on a four-day official visit to Bulgaria. This first visit of the F.R.G. president to Bulgaria is made at the invitation of the Bulgarian State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov. Mr Richard von Weizsaecker is returning the visit of the Bulgarian head of state paid to Bonn in June last year.

After the official welcoming ceremony this morning the first meeting between the two state leaders took place. Mr Petur Mladenov foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, his West German counterpart were present at the meeting. The sides expressed a common stance that bilateral relations are developing dynamically, that there are no problems which cannot be solved in them and they are characterized with the mutual wish and good will for expansion and charging with a new, contemporary meaning.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed the role which Bulgaria and the F.R.G. can play for the development of the dialogue East-West in all spheres. He pointed out that relations between the two countries are an example of fruitful cooperation between a small and a developed industrial country, independent of their sociopolitical systems.

Joining these positive assessments, the federal president of the F.R.G. said that the small and medium-size countries should not restrict themselves by adopting the role of observers in the dialogue between the great powers, but should actively help this process. Mr Richard von Weizsaecker pointed out that he was deeply impressed by the restructuring under way in Bulgaria, which is combined with this country's efforts to develop and deepen the economic contacts with the E.E.C. countries.

Dwelling upon the key international problems the two state leaders unanimously noted the significant upsurge in the East-West dialogue, for which an important role was played by the Soviet-U.S. treaty for scrapping away of smaller and medium-range missiles. It was stressed that this treaty should be followed by a permanent and advancing movement in the whole-round process of disarmament and arms control, by concrete agreements on a wide scale: significant cuts in the strategic offensive weapons, nuclear tests and chemical weapons ban, early start of negotiations on cuts in the military forces and conventional weapons in Europe. The two leaders spoke about the significance of the all-European process in all

its aspects for the consolidation of peace, security, cooperation and confidence. Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Richard von Weizsaecker exchanged opinions on a wide range of global issues related to international development like strengthening of security, confidence, development of international economic cooperation and preservation of the environment.

A concrete expression of the efforts of Bulgaria and the F.R.G. to expand cooperation in the various spheres are also the agreed today contracts on the setting up of working groups for cooperation, which are to be headed by leading political officials of the two countries. Four such groups are to be set up: on advisory matters and humanitarian problems, on issues of the economic cooperation, on the two countries' contacts with the E.E.C. and the C.M.E.A., on cooperation in the sphere of culture. The alleviations related to the visa relations of the two countries, on which verbal notes were exchanged today, are directed at the further improvement of cooperation. These alleviations concern mainly the visits of economic, cultural and other officials, which will make contacts easier and will encourage the development of cooperation in all spheres. An additional impetus in this direction will be given by the agreement between Bulgaria and the F.R.G. on avoiding the double-duty, on which ratification documents were exchanged today.

Some time later, in the presence of Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Richard von Weizsaecker, the two countries foreign affairs ministers Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher signed an agreement on the opening of cultural centres of the two countries in Sofia and Munich, respectively.

The afternoon schedule of the F.R.G. president includes laying of wreath before the monument of the unknown soldier and visiting of some cultural monuments in Sofia. Mr Von Weizsaecker will visit the Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim and will be given the honorary sign of the city of Sofia. This evening the President of the State Council Mr Todor Zhivkov will give an official dinner in the honour of the F.R.G. federal president.

Genscher Received by Atanasov

AU2111195488 Sofia BTA in English
1859 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today Mr Hans Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG, who is accompanying Mr Richard von Weizsaecker, federal president of the FRG, who is on an official visit to this country.

The two sides expressed satisfaction over the favourable development of the relations between Bulgaria and the FRG especially in the trade-economic sphere. Mr Georgi Atanasov stressed that the overall restructuring underway in Bulgaria in the sphere of economy, the foreign

economic relations included, creates favourable objective conditions for broader and more dynamic development of the economic cooperation. A sound contract-legal base has been created which provides opportunities for transition to more efficient forms of interrelation, in the future, in the sphere of industry, transport, agriculture, science and technology.

Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher dwelled in detail on the activity of his country in the European Economic Community and pointed out that the plans for establishing of an unified market of the community in 1992 do not mean that the EEC will isolate itself but it will try to broaden its cooperation with the socialist countries, Bulgaria included. He voiced also the FRG's support to Bulgaria's candidacy for membership in GATT.

During the talk which passed in a sincere, businesslike and constructive atmosphere, joint wish for further advance in all spheres of bilateral relations was expressed.

Met by Patriarch Maksim

AU2111195588 Sofia BTA in English
1900 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—Today the President of the F.R.G. Richard von Weizsaecker, who is paying an official visit to this country, met with Patriarch Maksim, head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. This was their second meeting. Weizsaecker met with Patriarch Maksim in the role of president of the Covenant of Free Evangelical Churches in Germany.

At today's talk they stressed the role of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in the history of the Bulgarian people, its efforts parallel with its religious mission, to work for the strengthening of peace and understanding in the world. They expressed a common wish to expand the existing religious contacts.

Decorations Exchanged

AU2111195988 Sofia BTA in English
1932 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 21 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's State Council, conferred the Order of "Stara Planina" with ribbon to Dr Richard von Weizsaecker, Federal President of the FRG. This high order is awarded to him for his great services for the strengthening and development of close, friendly relations between the FRG and Bulgaria.

Mr Todor Zhivkov was decorated with the Great Cross of the Order for Services to the FRG "special degree". This is a recognition for the great services of the Bulgarian leader to the broadening and deepening of the relations between Bulgaria and the FRG, for his contribution to the continuation of the political dialogue, economic cooperation and cultural exchange even in difficult periods of the international development.

The order was conferred on Mr Todor Zhivkov by Dr Richard von Weizsaecker.

MSZMP 'Socialist Innovation' Viewed

AU2211082988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 18 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Milan Angelov, Budapest correspondent: "A Difficult Period of Change"]

[Text] Nearly half a year has elapsed since the MSZMP National Conference at which the need for a decisive innovation of Hungary's sociopolitical and economic structures was explained. The implementation of the economic stabilization program and the expansion of the country's economic potential would be unthinkable without such innovation. Let us examine what has been accomplished so far and what obstacles have emerged along the path of the reform processes.

The MSZMP has considerably rejuvenated its leading organs and has encouraged the independence and self-initiative of party organizations. Heated debates are going on in many of these organizations and confrontations on different points of view are under way. State and administrative organs are also involved in this process. All basic normative documents that were valid in the past are being revised. Draft laws on property, elections, labor wages, the budget, and other areas are being prepared. Parliament has already adopted a new law on economic associations. A substantial amendment to the Constitution is also expected to be submitted.

In this atmosphere of intensified political activity, we can also hear voices alien to socialism, which in calling for a pluralistic party system, are trying to raise questions about the leading role of the MSZMP.

The point of view that prevails is that the first symptoms of economic stabilization are already visible, but this will obviously be a rather prolonged process. It is somewhat more disturbing to learn from the party documents issued by the MSZMP Central Committee November Plenum that the living standard is still deteriorating. These documents point out that the situation for young families and large families, in particular, is particularly unfavorable, and that a considerable part of the intelligentsia, the pensioners, and certain categories of workers also live under strained circumstances. At the aforementioned MSZMP Central Committee Plenum, Janos Berecz, Politburo member and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, pointed out that throughout the first few months during which the program adopted by the MSZMP National Conference was being implemented, certain unfavorable trends stemming from the slow rate of this implementation had emerged. The public attitude is worsening and is considerably worse than a few months ago, Janos Berecz stressed. Crisis situations, which are the cause of social tensions, persist in the economic sector.

Janos Bercz also pointed out that difficulties exist in relations between the party and the masses. He said that the party has failed to initiate a dialogue on essential domestic policy issues with the majority of the working class and the intelligentsia. The Hungarian party official simultaneously warned that the government's opportunities for satisfying the legitimate needs of certain strata of the population are limited. These demands can be satisfied only after achieving a rate of growth and production quality likely to ensure the necessary resources for a further increase in the living standard.

It was stated at the aforementioned plenum that the social tension existing at the present moment is due, among other things, to the fact that the best way to involve the young generation and the intelligentsia in the process of innovation has not been found.

The party recalls that it is in favor of building partnership relations with the PPF, the trade unions, and the women's movement, under which an ever growing number of citizens would join the reform process. Parting from its understanding of socialist pluralism, the MSZMP warned that it would resolutely oppose all forces that are trying to obstruct the country's further socialist innovation in contradiction with the constitutional laws.

The decision adopted by the aforementioned MSZMP Central Committee plenum centers upon the further democratization of inner-party life and calls for intensified contacts with non-party people, and above all for the further consolidation of the party's leading role through the personal example of all communists. The truth should be established and assert itself on the basis of detailed discussions and well-intentioned debates, and not through ultimatumlike demands of self-appointed organizations.

The Hungarian communist party, which will celebrate its 70th anniversary on 24 November 1988, has added heroic pages to the annals of Hungarian history. Difficulties, trials, and shortcomings have always taught the party to search for support among the people's masses. In this period of change the MSZMP, relying on the workers' class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia, will once more be able to implement its plans for the country's socialist innovation.

Days of Hungarian Culture Open 21 Nov
AU2111221688 Sofia BTA in English
1930 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Sofia, November, 21 (BTA)—Days of Hungarian Culture started here today. In Sofia and in other cities of this country there will be performances of Hungarian groups and companies, films, concerts, exhibitions, talks between artists of the two countries.

Among the events expected with greatest interest are the spectacles of the ballet of the Hungarian State Opera, the modern Hungarian art exhibition, the film week.

There will be working meetings during the cultural days: meetings between translators of the two countries, session on the topic: Bulgaro Hungarian relations in culture, literature and history. [passage omitted]

The events envisaged in the Plan for Cultural and Scientific Exchange Between Bulgaria and Hungary for the 1986-1990 Period do not exhaust the intellectual relations between the two countries. There are also contracts between the creative unions. Along with the Bulgaro Hungarian Society for Friendship, there are also a number of other similar clubs and societies.

There is also a Hungarian Cultural Centre in the capital of Bulgaria whose 40th anniversary will be marked in the framework of the days. The Cultural Centre hosts the second hall of the Bulgarian Satire Theatre whose repertoire includes mainly plays from Hungarian authors. [passage omitted]

Protocol Signed With India in Delhi
AU1811201988 Sofia BTA in English
1901 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] New Delhi, November 18 (BTA correspondent)—Today a protocol was signed to conclude the 9th Session of the Bulgaro-Indian Commission of Economic and Sci-Technological cooperation. The protocol was signed by the co-chairmen of the commission Mr Ognyan Doynov, president of the Heavy Engineering Association, and Mr Bhajan Lal, Indian minister of agriculture. Another protocol on cooperation in the field of tourism was also signed today.

At its three-day session, the commission made a review of the cooperation between the two countries in the field of trade, economy, science and technology. The two sides discussed the possibilities of expanding their cooperation in agriculture, stock breeding, the food industry, machine building, power generation, electronics, the chemical industry and pharmaceuticals, the manufacturing of construction machinery, leatherware and textile fabrics, outlining the measures to be taken for achieving this goal.

It was pointed out that the economic potential of the two countries makes it possible for them to extend their commercial exchange and that it is necessary to try and find ways of variegating its structure.

Politburo Decision on Health Reform Outlined
AU0811213188 Sofia BTA in English
2048 GMT 8 Nov 88

[“On the Reform of Health Care”—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 8 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC of the BCP has endorsed a draft decision on the reform of health care, which has been released for nationwide discussion.

The draft says that the sector has to be restructured above all because of the new stage which the country's social development is entering.

New health problems have arisen in connection with the demographic, urbanization and ecological processes, with the advances of science and technology, with the dynamism of social relations which sets new requirements to man's psycho-social adaptation.

Certain aspects of the organisation, management and level of health care have to be entirely reformed.

The draft points to the need of important changes in the functions and the organisation of the health service districts as a decisive area of health care restructuring. The number of people serviced in a single health service district should be reduced dramatically from the present 3,000-3,500 to between 1,200 and 1,500. The family practitioner should be the key figure in a health service district.

For their qualifications, accomplishments and work load, the family doctors should be among the highest paid medical officers in the health care system. As a rule, family practitioner services should be given to patients by doctors of their own choice.

The family physicians should have at their disposal an appropriate number of medical insurance forms to refer, when necessary, their patients to the other levels of the health service. In this way, the citizens will be able to exercise their right to a free choice of a preferred specialist or health care establishment. On the other hand, this will provide a reliable mechanism to grade the prestige and the accomplishments of individual specialists or establishments and will become an important factor of a transition from time payment to payment by results. [sentence as received]

Polyclinics should emerge as the nucleus health service units. They should be reorganised to focus on helping the family doctors discharge their functions.

Under the new arrangements, the polyclinics will provide specialist care, qualified dental services, and emergency case treatment. They should also run outpatient departments.

Specialists employed in the polyclinics should be allowed to hold a sufficient number of consultation hours outside their daily quota. All dentists should be available for free choice by the patients, and their salaries should be tied to their work load and to the quality of their services.

The polyclinics should also provide for the treatment of bedridden patients at their homes.

The polyclinics should introduce extensively the new forms of individual and collective part-time self-employment for physicians and dentists who would like to accept private patients in their free-of-work time.

The draft submits for consideration the possibility to institute private medical practice, whereby the practitioners will contract the use of state-of-the-art testing and therapy equipment at the polyclinics and the hospitals.

The hospital network should develop mainly along the lines of intensified processes of diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation. To this end, two types of hospitals should be differentiated: for acute stage treatment and for remedial care and rehabilitation.

The draft says that the health care network should develop on a production, age-group and branch basis.

The draft discusses the questions of occupational health care, of safeguarding the health of expectant mothers and children, of setting up a new welfare organisation to provide services for the elderly.

Concerning the future formation of the health service budget, the draft says that the range of funding sources should be considerably extended.

The exchequer will retain its role as the main source of finance for the extension and modernisation of the national health service, for the maintenance of the major nationwide-level hospitals.

The draft raises the question of increasing the percentage of the funds allocated by various associations and individual enterprises for the improvement of health services for their workers and employees. Voluntary public funds should be instituted for specific purposes. An efficiently working system of state medical insurance should be set up to function according to the same principle as the state insurance institute.

The state medical insurance system should guarantee the effective spending of the funds which the public invests in health care.

The state health insurance system will be financed by the economic organisations, by the exchequer (on a statutory basis for the economically inactive population of children and pensioners, as well as for those employed in the non-productive sphere), and by contributions of citizens who insure themselves or their families against the contingency of extra medical care.

The fixed portion of the physicians' salaries will be paid by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, and the variable portion will be paid from the medical insurance system. This will make it possible to take a resolute step from payment for the position held to payment for the quantity and quality of the work done, to payment by individual and collective results.

The draft also considers the need for a dramatic upgrading of the physicians' professional and social status.

It is deemed expedient to suggest the restoration in a near future of the Bulgarian Medical Association, as well as to consider the institution of the office of a chief medical officer of the republic.

The structuring and logistical policy in health care should be addressed in a new way: The medical establishments should be fully outfitted with equipment meeting the international standards of diagnosis and treatment services. The shortages of some medicines should be eliminated. Medical engineering should be restructured to reach the status of a priority industry.

It is suggested to increase the availability of prescription items free of charge, using the opportunities offered by the exchequer and by the insurance system.

Under the new conditions, the state bodies which see to the implementation of the party policy for safeguarding public health and the viability of the nation will have their role exceedingly strengthened, the draft decision says.

Handling of Public Complaints Investigated

AU1711153888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 16 Nov 88 p 2

[BTA report: "Attention to Letters and Complaints"]

[Text] An investigation of the Committee of State and People's Control on citizens' letters and critical publications covered 35 communities in Sofia, Lovech, and Mikhaylovgrad Oblasts. Despite the fact that the conclusions drawn do not apply to the whole country, certain trends and phenomena have emerged which call for general attention.

Commissions for the development of self-management and observance of socialist legality have been established in all communities. The citizens take advantage of their right to submit proposals, as well as to alert the authorities, and to address complaints and petitions for the defense of public or individual interests. Reception offices for the population were established in Berkovitsa and Kozloduy. Other forms of communication with the public are applied in the Byala Slatina community where a "day of the open letter" has been established for discussing crucial problems, such as those pertaining to trade, public services, labor discipline, and negative phenomena. In Cherven Bryag such topics are submitted to the Municipal People's Council for discussion or are dealt with in press conferences. A positive element in the organization of this work is provided by the services established for filing citizens' letters, or critical publications.

What about the existing difficulties and shortcomings in this work, how should we describe them?

The investigation came across a specific problems that causes concern. A shortage of cadres trained in the legal profession exists in the communities, and this prevents them from providing a fundamental, competent, and objective clarification of the questions submitted for discussion. The poor professional qualifications of local officials and their insufficient knowledge of normative documents results in a so-called double entry filing—letters are entered and filed in correspondence books, which require special filing. The most striking features in this respect are the cases that involve filing complaints about dismissals for breaches of discipline, illegal construction, and remission of state-owned plots.

The majority of the correspondence is closed after the dispatch of a response to the sender. However, no feedback information is ever filed regarding the positive solution of a justified question that has been dispatched to other competent organs and services. This shortcoming in the work of municipal people's councils undermines the people's confidence in them and triggers a large number of additional complaints and warnings addressed to party and state organs. This fact is confirmed by an examination of citizens' letters to the organs of the State and People's Control Committee. In numerous letters our citizens still ask questions about the territorial and settlement organization, about housing policy, trade, and services, questions which are exclusively within the competence and jurisdiction of the self-managing territorial communities.

Amendments to Decree on Encouraging Birthrate

AU1611144488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 15 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Issue No 87 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK publishes the following, important documents:

Decree No 1516 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria adopted on 9 November 1988 on amendments and addendum to the Decree on Encouraging the Birth Rate. The amendments are introduced at the proposal of the National Assembly Commission on the Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights. The formerly valid Decree on Encouraging the Birth Rate envisaged that the so-called "bachelor's tax" would be extended to widowed persons with no children, and to married couples 3 years following the death of their child or the birth of a stillborn child, if no other children are born. The tax also affected deaf and sterile people, and childless husbands of women with children who have not adopted the respective children, though living with them and taking care of them. In addition to this, income taxes were imposed on members of labor cooperative agricultural farms for their incomes obtained

from these farms and from their private plots, and for workers employed in labor cooperative agriculture farms (such as administrative personnel, engineers, technicians and machine operators).

According to the present amendment to Article 7, line 1 of the aforementioned decree, the word "widowed" is eliminated, because it is not expedient to impose "bachelor's" taxes on a widowed spouse who is childless but refuses to create a new family because of his feelings for the deceased. Lines 3 and 4 of Article 7 are also deleted because they referred to members and workers of labor cooperative agricultural farms which no longer exist. Article 8 of the same decree, which enumerates categories of citizens who are exempt from "bachelor's taxes," has been revised. It exempts parents whose children have died or were stillborn, regardless of the time that has elapsed since this tragic event. Article 8 exempts deaf people, because they, like the blind, are psychologically and materially underprivileged and it is difficult for them to adopt and raise children. Article 8 also applies to people whose sterility has been officially established. If such people are married, both spouses will be exempt from the "bachelor's tax." Article 8 exempts the childless spouse, even if he has not officially adopted the child of the other spouse, provided that he is ready to take care of the respective child and that the child lives within the family, regardless of the question of whether the real parent has died or is still alive. Some amendments are also being introduced for the purpose of adapting certain instructions of the aforementioned decree to current changes in the structure of ministries and departments.

The Ministry of Economy and Planning and the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education publish instructions pertaining to the use of equipment in educational institutions and on financial resources allocated by ministries and self-managing organizations for the needs of the Movement for Youth Scientific and Technical Creativity.

Amendments to Cargo Orders, Product Acceptance
AU1011161388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 9 Nov 88 p 4

[Text] The following official documents of greater importance are published in Issue 86 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

—Order of the Ministry of Transportation on an addition to Order No 10 on Handling Ship Cargoes in the Black Sea ports of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Article 7, paragraph 2 is amended by the addition, after the final word "animals," of the following: "also including tropical fruit (citrus fruits, bananas, etc.) This relates to giving priority in cargo handling (loading, unloading, etc.) to ships carrying perishable cargoes of vegetable or animal origin or animals. —The Committee on Quality has published an order amending and supplementing Order No 1 on the State Acceptance of Products. The proposal on the ranges of products subject to state acceptance will be agreed upon with the Ministry of the Economy and Planning. Two changes are also made to Article 11. Paragraph 3 of this article stated that when the state inspector does not accept products or declines to carry out an inspection check, he is to draw up a written document and immediately send it to the leader of the enterprise. In cases of more serious or repeated infringements, he is also to send copies of the document to the superior economic organization and to the Committee for Quality. The words "superior economic organization" are now replaced by the words "economic trust or association of which the enterprise is a member." Paragraph 4 of the same article originally stated that the state acceptance of products is to be reinstated only after the reasons that caused its cessation have been eliminated. The words "state acceptance" are now replaced by the words "inspection check." Article 20, paragraph 2, stated that the documents are drawn up by the state inspectors or other control organs of the Committee for Quality, while decrees on penalties are issued by the chairman of the Committee for Quality. The following words are now added to the end of the text: "or by officials appointed by the chairman." Amendments are also made to the additional instructions of the order.

Jakes Arrives in East Bohemia for Working Visit
AU2111143788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Report by Vaclav Pergl and Vladimir Smid: "We Need Good-Quality and Honest Work; Comrade Milos Jakes in East Bohemia"]

[Excerpts] Hradec Kralove—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, arrived for a 2-day working visit to East Bohemia yesterday. He started his stay in Nove Mesto nad Metuji. In the ceremonial hall of the state castle and during a subsequent tour of the city, Jaroslav Jara, chairman of the city national committee, familiarized him with the history of this city, its present, and its life and work. [passage omitted]

Subsequently, a discussion was held with functionaries of party, trade union, and youth union bodies and organizations of the Stavostroj Nove Mesto nad Metuji, Tepna Nachod, and Elton enterprises, as well as with deputies to the Nove Mesto nad Metuji City National Committee and officials of Nachod District. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes stressed the role of the economy in creating resources for an improved meeting of people's needs. He said that the decentralization of power and rights—and, by the same token, responsibility—is the core of restructuring. We have learned to make claims because everything used to be allocated, but we have forgotten efficiency in the process. Speaking about national committees he said that they fulfill their tasks, and make people feel satisfied because they cooperate well with enterprises, the entire National Front, and citizens. Such cooperation is needed everywhere. A national committee should avail itself of all possibilities to satisfy the needs of the population; at the same time, it should be able to involve them in publicly beneficial undertakings.

The basic yardstick of the activity of party members, Comrade Jakes said, must be their committed participation in the implementation of party policy, in the results of accomplished work, in the fulfillment of tasks and the solution of problems. [passage omitted]

The next stop on Comrade Jakes' tour was the region's capital, where he inspected foundry No III—Elektron of the CKD Hradec Kralove combine, whose castings are used mainly by the aircraft industry. [passage omitted]

The next 2 hours were taken up by a discussion with the CKD management, its party, trade union, and youth union aktiv, and representatives of labor collectives. [passage omitted]

Replying to comments that were raised in the discussion, which concerned mainly problems in supplier-user relations, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed that the restructuring of the economy must get us into a situation in which

every enterprise will highly regard its customer as the buyer of its goods. The aim of the comprehensive economic reform is the introduction of greater order—therefore the economic contract, too, must come to be treated as a law. Virtually everywhere, at every meeting, people talk about restructuring. Those who regard it as a matter concerning only the central bodies are wrong, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed. It may seem that we are proceeding slowly. But the converse is true. We are accelerating the introduction of this reform. This is a way of getting rid of our problems faster. We do not want the period of transition to last too long; we want the new structures of central agencies and of the production-technical, scientific-research, and circulation base to stabilize. No enterprise should idly wait. We are setting up state enterprises, and labor councils and directors are being elected. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the aim of the reform is the transition to full-fledged economic accountability and self-financing.

State enterprises are being endowed with new powers, but they are also being provided with greater responsibility for the fulfillment of their commitments vis-a-vis other enterprises and society at large. In this connection Comrade Jakes stressed that one must not permit any anarchy. Every enterprise must fulfill what is spelled out in its founding papers. But other enterprises, those that have not yet become state enterprises, must not be idle either. There is nothing that should prevent them from immediately starting to analyze in detail everywhere, at every workplace, what they produce at which costs, what losses they have, what the standard of their norms is, but also how qualified their workforce is, how their design offices are equipped, and how demanding and specific an innovation program they have. This program must be subordinated to the demand that our products have specifications that are comparable with those of leading world manufacturers.

In winding up his speech Comrade Milos Jakes stressed the need for further invigoration of the party and for changes in the style and methods of its work as the main factor of the implementation of restructuring and of our society's democratization. A CPCZ member must fight for the ideas of the party as the leading force of society. He must be in the forefront, show a sincere interest in doing more than is his duty, and combat complacency. [passage omitted]

In the late afternoon Comrade Jakes visited the cooperative farmers of the V.I. Lenin united agricultural cooperative in Smrzov in Hradec Kralove district. [passage omitted]

With the cooperative's leading workers and functionaries, Comrade Jakes discussed ways of ensuring tasks under the new economic conditions. [passage omitted]

In the conclusion of the first day of his working visit to East Bohemia, Comrade Jakes met with members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the CPCZ regional committee and with the chairwoman of the CPCZ regional

control and auditing commission. They discussed the current tasks of party work in the conditions of restructuring and of the development of socialist democracy.

During his stay in East Bohemia, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee was accompanied by Otto Liska, leading secretary of the CPCZ regional committee. In Nachod District, he was also accompanied by Bohuslav Janecek and in Hradec Kralove District by Antonin Bosak, leading secretaries of the respective CPCZ district committees.

Milos Jakes' working visit to East Bohemia will continue on Wednesday [16 November].

Limitation in Terms of Office for Party Officials

LD1111214988 *Belgrade TANJUG in English*
1835 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Prague, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—Under a new statute of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to be drafted by the next congress, the office of party officials, including the president, will be limited to two consecutive terms, RUDE PRAVO writes today.

Noting that agreement in principle on this has already been reached, the party daily says that this was prompted by the need to change the style and method of party work.

The draft is to be prepared by the congress set for 1990, a year before the term under the present statute.

Planned Changes in Party Statutes Outlined

AU1511121588 *Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech*
11 Nov 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Why Do the Statutes Require Changes?"]

[Excerpts] The success of the process of social reforms primarily depends on the quality of the work and activity of the leading social force—the Communist Party. From this, it follows that the tasks of restructuring cannot be ensured without restructuring the work of the party itself. [passage omitted]

The style and methods of party work must be changed today at all levels of the party structure, from the Central Committee down to the primary organizations, and all that breeds stagnation, passivity, and administrative approaches must be removed. At its ninth session, but also at its October session, the CPCZ Central Committee addressed many topical issues of party life. These two sessions in particular also adopted some recommendations, the final assessment and approval of which are in the competence of the next congress, which should be held in the first half of 1990.

All the novel features concerning the party's organizational setup, its structure, its internal life, and relations between the party and society will be reflected in the preparation of CPCZ statutes.

What main demands on party work are likely to figure uppermost in the next CPCZ statutes? It was openly said at the April session of the Central Committee that the stability of cadres that has become established at many places is of such a nature that it has led to rigidity, complacency, the weakening of collective spirit, and at times to disregard for negative phenomena and lowered demands on fellow officials as well. Also connected with this is serious neglect of the purposeful preparation of new, competent cadres. The Central Committee therefore recommends that the principle of limiting the term of office in each function be adopted.

In elections to all party agencies it will be necessary to consistently ensure a healthy turnover [obmena] among office holders. It would also be correct to proceed similarly in the turnover of cadres in other sectors outside the party, and to forestall the accumulation of functions and the overburdening of leading officials with functions.

Another important novel feature in the party's activity is the establishment of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR. As Comrade Jakes said at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee Session, this definitely does not mean the federalization of the party, but the formation of a territorially-based agency of the united CPCZ in the Czech SR, which has not existed thus far. A solution of principle with regard to the republican arrangement in the party structure will be submitted to the 18th congress, taking into account experiences acquired by then, and will be embodied in the party statutes.

Other new experiences from the development of internal party democracy will also be assessed in the course of the pre-congress discussion. This concerns, for example, the possibility of secret ballots, selection from several candidates, or holding responsible officials and ranking personnel accountable to the relevant agencies and labor collectives. As of 1 October, one district committee in each region is also testing by experimentation a new organizational structure of the party apparatus. The purpose of this experiment is to test the possibilities of flexibly adapting the structure and systematization [systemizace] of the apparatus to new conditions.

The party's program and statutes should clearly express the demand that party bodies and organizations use the forms and methods of political guidance, and that they enhance the independence and responsibility of all elements of social management. [passage omitted]

Within its activity in the political system the party must therefore see to it that state and economic agencies do not hide behind the party when failing to fulfill their

tasks and that they do not flinch from unpopular measures. At the same time the party must not claim the right to make decisions on behalf of these agencies when the fulfillment of their own tasks is concerned. [passage omitted]

The party statutes should also respond to other requirements arising from the party's activity in the process of restructuring the economic mechanism and the life of society. Even today it is apparent, however, that the drafting of this basic law of the party will become another significant occasion for using the inspiring ideas yielded by the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference and a good occasion for activating the party's internal life. [passage omitted]

The CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Amending the Party Statutes set up at the 10th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee is facing an uneasy task—to make use of the large number of ideas, views, and suggestions and prepare the necessary alternative drafts for assessment so that they can be submitted for discussion in due course.

Party Control Body for Czech SR Set Up

AU2111200488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 Nov 88 p 2

["z"-signed report: "Session of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The 13th session of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission was held in Prague on Tuesday [15 November] with Jaroslav Hajn, the commission's chairman, in the chair.

In conjunction with the establishment of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR at the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission elected by secret ballot an 11-member Commission for the Party's Control and Auditing Activity in the Czech SR. Its members are: Miloslav Charvat, Rudolf Mahdalik, Jindrich Masek, Jan Motl, Jiri Nikodym, Anna Oravova, Jiri Pelc, Kvetoslava Solnickova, Jiri Sindelka, Miloslav Vecker, and Zdenka Voslarova.

Miloslav Vecker was elected chairman of the Commission for the Party's Control and Auditing Activity in the Czech SR; he was also approved for the post of deputy chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission. Jan Motl and Jiri Nikodym were co-opted as members of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The work of the Commission for the Party's Control and Auditing Activity in the Czech SR will be guided by the CPCZ statutes and by the directive for the activity of CPCZ control and auditing commissions. Through its activity it will assist the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR. The commission's work will mainly center

on reviews of how party agencies and organizations on the territory of the Czech SR implement resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and of CPCZ Central Committee sessions. It will examine and decide on appeals against decisions of CPCZ regional control and auditing commissions in the Czech SR in matters of party membership, and conduct inquiries into complaints and letters from the working people that are either addressed to it or ceded to it by the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission. [passage omitted]

Czech Government Discusses Economic Restructuring

LD2111225488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Today the Czech Government dealt with the progress of the second stage of the restructuring of organizational structures of the production-technical, scientific-research, and marketing base of the national economy. When debating a report on providing investment for improving the environment, it noted a serious lagging behind in the fulfillment of tasks on ecological building projects. It expressed dissatisfaction with the inconsistent attitude of investors and suppliers of construction and technological parts. It has set specific tasks in this direction for the remaining years of the Eighth 5-year plan.

The Czech Government also dealt in detail with the problems of the public transport of passengers to work and order 450 or so buses more to help on the more than 1,900 routes.

It also discussed draft measures to improve supplies in Prague, the standard of services in public catering, and the development of tourism.

Bilak Recounts April 1969 Events in Memoirs

AU2111163788 Vienna PROFIL in German
21 Nov 88 pp 62-63

["Excerpt From Vasil Bilak's Unpublished Memoirs ('Milestones of My Life'); Diary of a Putschist"]

[Text] At the beginning of April 1969 politics seemed to start disentangling in the CSSR. The political winter came to an end and a new spring was just around the corner. We checked every Central Committee member with regard to his views and character. We wanted to be sure in every single case. In all districts, groups of comrades were working on this. We wanted to be sure about how every Central Committee member would act when the matter was worked out.

In my office in the Central Committee building comrades from Prague met with various rapporteurs from the districts three to four times a week. We discussed the situation and coordinated further actions.

Very active in this respect were Comrades Drahomir Kolder, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Josef Lenart, Oldrich Svestka, Jan Fojtik, Vaclav David, Antonin Kapek, Josef Korcak, Vilem Novy, Miroslav Zavadil, Otakar Rytir, and others. Of great help was Comrade Husak (annotation: then Slovak party chief), who guided Slovakia in the desired direction. Milos Jakes, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control Commission, was another mainstay.

In all districts strong Marxist-Leninist groups worked without the knowledge of the first secretaries, who supported the right. We expanded the links with the regions and the most important enterprises. This work also required financial means. Many people altruistically participated in this work. However, they were unemployed and they did need money to live on.

For some time I wanted to ask Cernik (annotation: then head of government) for the money. When I told him about it later, he regretted that I had not done it. He said that he would have given it with pleasure, even 1 million. Perhaps this would have helped him to save his party book!

Gradually we received money from other sources. Some people even proposed to pay membership fees twice. There was also the proposal to found an illegal party leadership, a parallel Central Committee. This seemed too risky to me and I kept delaying.

I considered the discussions about who should be included in the leadership and who posed the greatest danger. In this process the main task we were facing would have been forgotten: to force Dubcek to resign and to form a new Marxist-Leninist party leadership.

Some comrades thought that the preparation of the Central Committee session was too slow. They would have preferred to come to a solution quickly, by means of force.

Such a proposal was submitted to the Central Secretariat by a delegation from Ostrava with about 20 members. They had hardly entered the room when they started to speak. They sternly asked when we would remove Dubcek and how we would do it. They said that if we in Prague would not do anything, they in Ostrava would take the initiative. They repeatedly announced that they would occupy all important buildings in Ostrava. Ostrava would become the revolutionary Czech Petersburg.

I listened to them for a while and then I calmly told them the following—as if the plan had already been ready: "Okay, comrades. On 19 March, 2400 hours, we will act. Please, show me the plan about what is to happen in Ostrava."

Comrade Braviak, the head of the delegation, began to stammer. They were not yet as far as that, they only wanted to hear our opinion and to get orders, he said. Their readiness for struggle was nice, but I had to tell them that their plan was an irresponsible adventure. Then I warned them: If they were to act without our agreement, I would call for harsh punishment. The situation required strict discipline. We could not request the Soviet troops to help again, I said.

One day, probably on 13 April, when I was working late, Dubcek called. He wanted to discuss with me the course of action at the Central Committee session and what he should say there. I do not doubt that he knew what was being prepared. Therefore, I told him in a straightforward way that he should take the last step to correct his mistakes.

I recommended him to openly admit at the session his share in the critical development and to voluntarily renounce his function so as to free the way toward reconciliation. Looking serious, Dubcek pondered this for a long time. I think that he did not realize that developments were bypassing him and that he could no longer influence the future. He promised to think things over.

However, he committed another fraud which he had cooked up with his advisers. Around 0300 hours he returned to the Central Committee building and started shouting at the entrance that he would not give up and that he would teach us all discipline and order. We were told this by the policemen on duty at the entrance. They said that Dubcek had been quite drunk. He probably thought that he had thwarted our preparations for his removal.

However, they did not know that this evening (19 April 1969) Comrade Husak had flown to Mukachevo (annotation: city in formerly Slovak Carpathian Ukraine) in order to meet with Comrade Brezhnev. After midnight a discussion then took place in the Central Committee building, at which I briefed the comrades about the solution finally arrived at.

Adamec Visits Bratislava Automobile Works
AU2111152288 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
16 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Fulfillment of Tasks Assessed"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, and other members of the federal government arrived for a 2-day working visit to Bratislava yesterday afternoon. [passage omitted]

In the largest automobile factory in Slovakia, the Bratislava Automobile Works (BAZ), the guests were welcomed by Stefan Rybar, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Bratislava CPSL City Committee.

Enterprise director Stanislav Kopacik briefed them on the development of the construction of the enterprise and on its production program, whose original concept has undergone several changes since 1971 and has not been resolved with final validity to this day. [passage omitted] The enterprise currently has a workforce of 4,600, but it will need a workforce of more than 8,000. Frequent changes in the development concept of the enterprise have caused a delay in the construction of projects included in its social program, which is naturally reflected in the stability of the workforce and in its performance, Stanislav Kovacik said. [passage omitted]

In the subsequent discussion Ladislav Adamec drew attention to the fact that the development of our economy has not been balanced in recent years. Now it is important to minimize production shortfalls and fulfill the tasks of the 5-year plan, which would create the best possible conditions for introducing the principles of the new economic mechanism a year earlier than originally planned. He stressed that one of the main tasks is to ponder the further development of enterprises that fall short of the projected parameters and do not fulfill the tasks of the economic plan on a long-term basis. This applies to enterprises in the Slovak SR just as to those in the Czech SR. Capital investment plans will also have to be reassessed through a joint search for hidden potentials and solutions. In connection with the implementation of the BAZ social program Ladislav Adamec stressed the essential need to finalize it in a flexible way, as this is the only way to establish a serious platform for manpower stabilization and for the motivation of young qualified engineers. As he stressed, modern engineering production cannot develop without knowledgeable intelligentsia.

Participants in the visit to the BAZ factory included Comrade Ivan Knotek and other members of the Slovak SR Government—Stefan Murin, Pavol Bahyl, Frantisek Miseje, and Stefan Ferencei.

Janak Addresses Bratislava Seminar

*LD2111231588 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak
1730 GMT 21 Nov 88*

[Text] An educational seminar of secretaries of rural and municipal district party committees for political and organizational work began in Bratislava today in the presence of Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

Comrade Ignac Janak spoke about the principal tasks facing party organs and organizations in deepening socialist democracy and implementing the restructuring of our economic mechanism, and briefed the participants on the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Seminar on Relations With Soviet Enterprises

*AU1611171788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
15 Nov 88 p 2*

["(ny)"]-signed report: "On Direct Relations"]

[Text] Prague—A seminar of the directors of Soviet and Czechoslovak enterprises of the light industry, dealing with the development of cooperation and (especially) the expansion of direct relations, opened in Prague on Monday [14 November]. The seminar is the follow-up to a similar seminar in the engineering sphere, held in Moscow in September 1988. The initiative to organize these seminars came from the Central Committees of the two fraternal parties.

The Soviet delegation is led by Vladimir Lakhtin, first deputy chairman of the Bureau for Social Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers; the Czechoslovak delegation is headed by Karel Erbes, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department. The seminar is attended by up to 70 directors of Soviet and Czechoslovak enterprises.

Honecker Greet PNC Congress Participants
AU1511073088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 12-13 Nov 88 p 5

[ND report: "GDR Solidarity With the Struggle of the Palestinian People"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and commander in chief of the Palestinian revolution:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR I convey solidarity militant greetings to you, to all participants in the extraordinary congress of the Palestinian National Council [PNC] and to all the Palestinian people. Your congress is taking place at a time when, thanks to the determined efforts of all forces pledged to reason and realism, the conditions for an improvement in the international situation are becoming more favorable. It is becoming increasingly clear that, with a policy of dialogue and cooperation, it is possible to gradually solve the complicated problems. The first important results have been reached in the global disarmament process and in the political settlement of regional conflicts in the world.

Continuing this development promises to bring one closer to a peaceful settlement that also takes into account the interests of all sides in the Middle East. The unified actions of the Arab states and the active cooperation of all forces of peace are a guarantee for progress on this road. By advocating the convening of an international Middle East conference, under the aegis of the UN and with the equal participation of all sides involved in the Middle East conflict and of representatives of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, the PLO has emphatically proved the Palestinian people's desire for peace.

The courageous uprising of the Palestinian people, which has been going on for almost 1 year, impressively demonstrates that the illegal occupation of Palestinian territories cannot be made permanent.

Rest assured that the GDR will continue to support with solidarity the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO for the realization of their national rights, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

I wish the PNC Congress much success.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Government Delegation Meets Iraqi Ministers
AU0711172488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 4 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] Baghdad (ADN)—The GDR Government delegation led by Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister for construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery and vehicles, ended its talks in Baghdad on Thursday [3 November]. During talks with Iraqi Minister of Industry and Minerals Husayn Kamil and Trade Minister Muhammad Mahdi Salih al-Rawi, the high level of bilateral relations was acknowledged, and prospects for further cooperation were discussed. Gerhard Tautenhahn stated the GDR's readiness to participate in additional development projects in Iraq on the basis of mutually beneficial trade.

Honecker Receives Chilean CP Officials
AU0711212988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 5-6 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, received Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, for friendly talks on Friday [4 November]. During the meeting, which took place in the spirit of the traditional fraternal friendship between the SED and the Communist Party of Chile, they exchanged views on problems of current international developments, both parties' tasks, and their bilateral cooperation.

Both politicians agreed in their assessment that, despite the continuing complicated international situation, the outlines of a change for the better are appearing. With the conclusion of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles, the way has been paved for new disarmament measures in the nuclear and conventional fields. There are now real opportunities for creating a world without nuclear weapons, without wars and force.

Erich Honecker and Volodia Teitelboim corroborated their parties' determination to continue to contribute to preventing a nuclear inferno, ensuring international peace, and creating a climate of security and confidence between states and peoples.

Erich Honecker gave a report on the substantial efforts made by the SED and the GDR's working people to fulfill the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. He said that the shaping of the developed socialist society as a process of far-reaching political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural change is taking place in a dynamic way. In this respect, the GDR is guided by the universally valid laws of socialism, applying them creatively to the given national conditions in the GDR. The leading

SED representative discussed the GDR's active contribution to ensuring peace. He expounded on the initiatives for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free corridor, a chemical-weapon-free zone, and a zone of confidence and security in central Europe.

Volodia Teitelboim conveyed most cordial greetings from Luis Corvalan, Central Committee general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, which were reciprocated by Erich Honecker. He gave a report on the referendum in Chile on 5 October this year and assessed its outcome as the most important success of the opposition forces' many years of struggle against the dictatorship, and an important step on the road to a democratic alternative for his country. He said that this success of the democratic forces is the result of the dedicated common struggle of Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, and all other patriots.

The outcome of the referendum is also a victory of the strong international solidarity, in which the internationalist contribution of the SED and the people of the GDR takes a special place, he said.

Volodia Teitelboim also said that the power structures of the military dictatorship and the dangers of continuing repression and acts of terror still exist. He said that the Communist Party of Chile is currently advocating with special emphasis the unity of action of all opposition forces. This is an indispensable prerequisite for putting an end to the military dictatorship and paving the way for free, democratic elections.

Erich Honecker conveyed the GDR citizens' congratulations on the outcome of the referendum. He confirmed the SED's unswerving solidarity and support for the Chilean people in their struggle for the restoration of democracy and freedom. Both sides agreed to continue cooperation between the SED and the Communist Party of Chile in the well-tried way.

Taking part in the meeting were Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, Edgar Fries, deputy director in the International Relations Department, and, from the Communist Party of Chile, Central Committee member Alonso Molina.

More Relief Shipments Sent to Nicaragua
*AU0711112188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 3 Nov 88 p 1*

[Text] Managua (ADN)—Tuesday evening (local time) [1 November] another charter plane of the GDR Solidarity Committee loaded with solidarity goods arrived in Managua. At "Augusto Cesar Sandino" International Airport, GDR Ambassador Matthias Dietrich handed over the 19 tonnes of goods, including pharmaceuticals, tents, powdered milk, and foodstuffs. In the presence of representatives of the National Emergency Committee, Alejandro Martinez Cuenca, minister for foreign trade,

expressed thanks for this "new proof of firm and effective solidarity of the GDR Government and people with Nicaragua." He said that the urgently needed goods would be sent to the regions that were particularly affected by the storm—according to need—immediately after the IL 62 M plane was unloaded.

Angolan Official Discusses Industry With Kleiber
*AU1411135088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11 Nov 88 p 2*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Henrique Santos Onambwe, candidate member of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party Central Committee Politburo, for friendly talks on Thursday [10 November]. Guenther Kleiber briefed his guest on the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. He stressed that the GDR, together with all forces that are ready for dialogue, will continue to support the maintenance and safeguarding of peace, dialogue, and cooperation, and the political solution of conflicts and problems.

Henrique Santos Onambwe outlined the Angolan people's efforts to overcome the material damage and problems that have been caused by the RSA's policy of destabilization. He praised the good relations between the two countries and the GDR's solidarity and efficient support for the People's Republic of Angola that has existed for many years. The cordial and frank talk centered on further deepening cooperation in the field of industry and geology. The two sides concurred in stressing that cooperation has developed successfully and dynamically, and for the mutual benefit, and that there are good conditions for implementing further objects of industrial development in fields such as foodstuffs industry, electrification, the assembly of motorcycles, as well the maintenance of vehicles and agricultural machinery.

The talk was by attended by Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles, and Agostinho Mendes de Carvalho, Angolan ambassador to the GDR.

SED's Krenz Receives WPK Delegation
*AU0311153888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 1 Nov 88 p 2*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with a delegation of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK], headed by Pak Song-pom, deputy director of the Mass Organizations Department, for a friendly exchange of opinions on Monday [31 October].

The partners in the talk paid tribute to the high level of relations between the GDR and the DPRK, the SED and the WPK, which are solidly based on the extensive

agreements that were reached by the highest representatives of the two fraternal parties and states, Erich Hon-ecker and Kim Il-song, at their meetings in 1984 and 1986. Egon Krenz briefed the Korean guests on the successful implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress in the sector of youth policy. He pointed out that, in the spirit of the traditional movement for peace, friendship, and anti-imperialist solidarity, the FDJ is preparing itself for the 13th World Youth Festival in the DPRK in the summer of 1989.

Pak Song-pom discussed topical tasks of building socialism in the DPRK and the WPK's work for peace and security in the Korean peninsula. He underlined the fact that the Korean people and their young people are making great efforts in all social fields to be a good host for the participants in the world youth festival in July 1989.

Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, and Gerd Schulz, director of the Youth Affairs Department of the Central Committee, participated in the talk. Pak Yong-chan, DPRK ambassador to the GDR, was also present.

Minister Boehme Receives Laotian Counterpart
AU0311161588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 1 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, minister for university and technical school matters, received Phimmason, deputy education minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, in Berlin on Monday [31 October]. During the friendly meeting both sides paid tribute to the results of the close cooperation in the field of university and technical school matters. They discussed measures for the further deepening of this cooperation, particularly in the mutual training and advanced training of cadres.

Zellmer Elected Frankfurt (Oder) Party Chief
LD0411101388 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1600 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Frankfurt (Oder), (ADN)—Christa Zellmer, member of the SED Central Committee, was today unanimously elected first secretary by the Frankfurt (Oder) Area [Bezirk] SED Executive. Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, submitted the relevant proposal to the executive. He wished Christa Zellmer new successes in the further implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress as first secretary of the area executive at the head of the area party organization which numbers 72,000 comrades. [passage omitted]

FDJ Gives Awards on Lenin Komsomol Anniversary
AU0311143788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 31 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Lenin Komsomol, the FDJ Central Council held an award ceremony in Berlin

on Saturday [29 October]. The ceremony was attended by meritorious members of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, as well as by members of the Lenin Komsomol. There was a cordial welcome for Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, and Colonel General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and head of the Political Administration of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. Also present was a further delegation of the Komsomol Central Committee, headed by Mikhail Musikhin, first secretary of the Perm Oblast committee.

Eberhard Aurich, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council emphasized that the members of the FDJ were filled with pleasure and pride when, after their talk, the highest representatives of the two countries, Erich Hon-ecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, expressed the view that bilateral relations are developing comprehensively and dynamically, and that fraternal cooperation has reached a qualitatively new level on an equal basis.

The young people of the GDR continue to see the firm pledge for the successful development of their socialist home country in close fraternal alliance with the land of Red October. With the "GDR 40 FDJ Pledge" young people are doing everything to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, to comprehensively strengthen and reliably protect socialism in the GDR.

Mikhail Musikhin outlined the diverse political, economic, and cultural projects of the USSR youth association. The exchange of experiences with the FDJ plays an important role in this context, Musikhin said.

Eberhard Aurich presented the FDJ Artur-Becker Medal in gold, the medal "For Excellent Achievements in Communist Education in the Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization" in gold, and the honorary medal "For Strengthening Fraternal Ties Between the FDJ and the Lenin Communist Youth Association of the Soviet Union."

Before the ceremony, delegations of the FDJ and the USSR youth association paid tribute to the founder of the Soviet state by laying a wreath at the Lenin Memorial in East Berlin.

Krenz Presents State Honor to DTSB President
LD0511204288 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1639 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At its 12th session in Berlin today, the National Executive of the GDR's DTSB [German Gymnastic and Sports Association] discussed the tasks of the association in preparation for the GDR's 40th anniversary. At the start of the session, Manfred Ewald asked to be released, on doctor's advice, from the post of president of the DTSB. The National Executive agreed with the request and thanked Manfred Ewald for his long and successful work at the head of the sports

organization. Since 1948 he has had a decisive share in the development of the DTSB as an efficient socialist sports movement, which is proving itself as the initiator and organizer of physical culture and sports and which enjoys great international respect.

Klaus Eichler, first vice president of the DTSB, was elected president of the organization by the National Executive.

On behalf of the National Executive he said that the DTSB will continue to use all of the organization's strength to realize the resolutions of the 11th SED Party Congress. The excellent balance which was drawn up on the 40th anniversary of the socialist sports organization and the magnificent results of the GDR's team at the 24th Olympic games linked to it are a good start for solving the further tasks of the "Sports Relay GDR 40".

The DTSB National Executive elected Horst Roeder as first vice president and Jochen Grunewald as vice president of the DTSB. Horst Roeder, head of the GDR team at the 24th Olympic games, gave a report on the successful results of the GDR team in Seoul. The National Executive thanked all those who had contributed to the magnificent success of the olympic team.

At a subsequent festive function Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on behalf of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, presented National Olympic Committee President Manfred Ewald with the Karl-Marx Order.

Egon Krenz underlined that the presentation of the highest GDR award acknowledges Manfred Ewald's great services to the development of physical culture and sport. His achievements are inseparable from the formation, consolidation, and steady development of the socialist sports movement. As president of the DTSB since 1961, and in other responsible functions, Manfred Ewald has helped with his great personal contribution to realize the SED's policy which is aimed at the people's prosperity, the strengthening of socialism, and the safeguarding of peace.

SED Greets Political Science Academy

LD1211153088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0300 GMT 12 Nov 88

[East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 1444 GMT on 12 November transmits a service message advising consumers not to use the following item]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—As a socialist educational and research establishment the GDR's Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence has made great contributions to the training, education, and further training of GDR state officials in the area of domestic and foreign policy, as well as in the administration of justice. This is said in

a greetings message from the SED Central Committee on the occasion of the 40th founding anniversary of the GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence.

It has fulfilled in an internationally recognized way the tasks of the training and further training of students and leadership cadres from friendly countries. The academy's theoretical contribution to the perfection of state leadership on the basis of democratic centralism, to the realization of a socialist communal policy, and to the broad development of socialist democracy should be emphasized, it is stressed in the greetings address signed by Erich Honecker.

The academy's work has contributed to the pushing through of socialist law, the further qualification of legal work in the state organs, and to the overall safeguarding of the rights of citizens and their justified interests in the socialist state based on the rule of law.

High requirements for foreign policy research and the further development of international law result from the GDR's policies directed toward peace and disarmament, the strengthening of the international positions of socialism, peaceful coexistence, security, and trustful cooperation between states and peoples, the greetings message says.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 2-9 Nov

AU1111175388 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 3 to 10 November reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee (CC), and Werner Walde, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership, attended the SED delegates conference of the Schwarzheide Synthesis Works in Cottbus Bezirk on 2 November. (3 Nov, pp 1, 3)

The following Politburo members attended a festive event on the 71st anniversary of the October Revolution in Berlin on 7 November: Hermann Axen, Horst Dohls, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, and Harry Tisch. The event was also attended by Politburo candidate members Inge Lange and Gerhard Schuerer. (8 Nov, p 1)

Politburo members Werner Krolikowski and Harry Tisch attended the opening of the 31st Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow in Leipzig on 7 November. (8 Nov, p 1, 4)

The following Politburo members attended a reception given by Soviet Ambassador Kochemasov on the 71st anniversary of the October Revolution in Berlin on 7 November: Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Werner Eberlein, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Erich Honecker, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, and Harry Tisch. Candidate members Inge Lange and Gerhard Schuerer were also present. (8 Nov, p 2)

The following Politburo members were present at a reception given by Erich Honecker on the occasion of conferring high state awards on meritorious Jewish citizens in Berlin on 8 November: Hermann Axen, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, Horst Sindermann, and Willi Stoph. (9 Nov, pp 1,2)

Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, and Horst Sindermann attended a People's Chamber session on the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night in Berlin on 8 November. (9 Nov, p 1)

The following Politburo members attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Socialist Memorial in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde on 9 November: Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Erich Honecker, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Horst Sindermann, and Willi Stoph. Candidate members Inge Lange and Gerhard Schuerer were also present. (10 Nov, p 1)

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ CC, in Berlin on 2 November. (3 Nov, p 1) Erich Honecker also received Volodia Teitelboim, member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the CC of the Communist Party of Chile, in Berlin on 4 November. (5-6 Nov, p 1)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Laszlo Ballai, chairman of the Central People's Control Commission of the Hungarian People's Republic, in Berlin on 2 November. (3 Nov, p 1)

Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC, received a study delegation of the PZPR CC, headed by Stanislaw Gabrielski, member of the PZPR CC and head of the CC Political Organization Department. (5-6 Nov, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, SED CC Politburo member and minister of national defense, received a delegation of the Technical Committee of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces in Berlin on 3 November. (4 Nov, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED CC Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a dinner given by Oskar Fischer in honor of Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos in Berlin on 2 November. (3 Nov, p 1)

Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC, received Kikuo Tashiro, president of the Japanese television station Asahi, in Berlin on 5 November. (7 Nov, p 1)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED CC Politburo, presented the honorary banner of the German-Soviet Friendship Society to the "Artur Becker" Officers' College at a meeting of comradeship-in-arms in Dresden on 2 November. (3 Nov, p 2) Erich Mueckenberger also presented honorary documents and commemorative medals to former members of the League of the Friends of the Soviet Union in Berlin on 3 November. (4 Nov, p 3)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, spoke at a wreath-laying ceremony at the memorial plaque for the Red sailors, in Berlin on 8 November. (9 Nov, p 5)

Harry Tisch, member of the SED CC Politburo and chairman of the FD Central Council, attended a conference of 400 trade union functionaries of Schwerin Bezirk in the Schwerin Plastic Machinery Enterprise on 3 November. (4 Nov, pp 1,2) Harry Tisch also visited trade unionists in the "Lewitz" Livestock Breeding State-Owned Farm in Neustadt-Glewe on 4 November. (5-6 Nov, p 1)

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Ion Ceausescu, minister secretary of state and first deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission of the SR of Romania, in Berlin on 3 November. (4 Nov, p 2)

Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, attended a meeting between Willi Stoph, and Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos in Berlin on 3 November. (4 Nov, p 2) Oskar Fischer received Ali Ahmed Sahlul, under state secretary in the Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Berlin on 8 November. (9 Nov, p 5) Oskar Fischer received Rabbi Philip Hiat, head of the delegation of the Association of U.S.-Hebrew Congregations, in Berlin on 9 November. (10 Nov, p 2)

MSZMP Political Committee Meets 8 Nov
LD0811235588 Budapest MTI in English
2154 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—As reported, the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a session in Budapest Tuesday [8 November]. The body discussed the report concerning the working order and method of the Central Committee and the Political Committee, and the functions of the CC working committees, advisory bodies and apparatus. It proposed the Central Committee should include this theme in the agenda of its next session.

The Political Committee considers it important for the party to resolutely move to create partner and working relations with the state authorities and the social organizations and movements.

The Political Committee holds it necessary to separate the functions of the two leading party bodies: The Central Committee—between the two congresses or party conferences—is the supreme party body of decision-making, management and supervision, while the Political Committee concentrates, alongside daily political questions, on the preparation and implementation of decisions. The Political Committee also examined the modernization of the work of the party's central apparatus and the amendment of its organizational structure, and will submit the relevant proposals to the Central Committee.

The body discussed the report of the Presidium of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) on a few topical issues of trade union work. The Political Committee agreed with the assessment given on the position of the trade union movement and the planned directions of renewing trade union work. It confirmed that the party also had essential interest in the trade unions regaining the confidence of their members and becoming independent representative organs with mass leverage. The party continues to require the trade unions to be partners mindful of political and economic realities to the HSWP and to actively contribute to the creation of socialist pluralism.

The political committee agreed with the initiative that the full range of trade unions rights and duties, the mechanism and methods of interest coordination and the principles and practice of cooperation with the government and employers should be reviewed and adjusted to present-day requirements.

According to the Political Committee, the planned transformation of trade unions on an alliance basis could serve better the expression and enforcement of interests.

The body drew attention to the fact that the cooperation of workshop trade unions and party organizations should be placed on a new basis. Party members are expected to increasingly participate in trade union work and promote its renewal.

The Political Committee discussed a report on amending the payment of party membership dues. It stated that communists meet their payment obligation, making considerable financial contribution to the operation of the party. It agreed that, given the circumstances, the sum of dues has to be reduced and the order of payment simplified. The Political Committee's proposal on the subject is to be submitted to the next session of the Central Committee.

Dealing with the modification of certain provisions of the constitution, the Political Committee noted that, parallel with the revision of the fundamental law, several laws are being prepared towards the continued improvement of the system of political institutions, the early adoption and application of which would be necessary as soon as possible. Such are the drafting of the laws on the rights of assembly and association, the modification of the election law and the amendment of the parliamentary procedure. For this reason, it is already justified to change a few stipulations of the current constitution. On the proposal of the political committee, the Central Committee will also discuss the question.

Next the body heard a report on the main experience from the public debate over the laws on the rights of assembly and association. The political committee supports the revision of the bills and agrees to the use of innovative legal solutions and more distinct terms. The Central Committee is to be informed on the experience from the social debate of the draft laws and the proposed amendments.

The Political Committee decided to convene the Central Committee for November 22.

MSZMP Central Committee Session Opens 22 Nov

Session Agenda Outlined

LD2111201388 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] In accordance with preliminary plans, the Party Central Committee will meet tomorrow. At the proposal of the Politburo, the body will hear a briefing on topical international and foreign political issues. Apart from this, it will discuss a submission on the Central Committee's and Politburo's order and method of work; on the sphere of tasks of the Central Committee's work committees and apparatus; on modification of the payment of membership dues; and on the Central Committee's work

plan. Also figuring on the agenda is a draft on the principles of a law regulating national and local referenda, as well as another submission pertaining to personnel issues.

[Budapest MTI in English at 1811 GMT on 21 November in a related report adds that: "At its Monday session the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party saw the submissions forwarded to the session of the Central Committee to be held on November 22."]

MTI Notes Session Agenda

LD1811232688 Budapest MTI in English
2233 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—The session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee has been convened for Tuesday, November 22. At the proposal of the Political Committee, the body is to hear a report on current international and foreign political issues presented by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee. The Central Committee will also hear a report on the major processes that determine the development of the Soviet Union, and on the state of Poland, the efforts of the Polish United Workers Party, the results of the European security and cooperation process, and on the international activity and foreign political initiatives of Hungary.

HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz is to submit a proposal on the working order of the Central Committee and the Political Committee, their working methods, the scope of tasks of the working committees and apparatus of the Central Committee. Many initiatives have been taken since the May party conference of the HSWP to modernize the leading role and operation of the party, and to enforce the standpoint of the party conference. A discussion of this point on the agenda fits into the line of these.

The proposal on the principles of the law on national and local plebiscites is to be presented by Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the Central Committee. The proposal, in accordance with the position of the national party conference, recommends that in the interest of further strengthening the democratic features of the system of political institutions, the National Assembly frame a law on national and local plebiscites.

On the basis of the proposal of the Political Committee, the session of the Central Committee will deal with the amendment of certain issues of the payment of party membership dues, and propose a more unanimous and clear determination of the basis for the membership dues. In the framework of the next point on the agenda, the Central Committee will discuss the proposal on its work schedule for 1989. Both these points on the agenda will be presented by Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Committee.

The body will also discuss a personnel proposal, to be submitted by General Secretary Karoly Grosz.

Session Officially Opens

LD2211095788 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0900 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee session has begun. Correspondent Pal Toth reports:

[Begin Toth Recording] General Secretary Karoly Grosz is presiding over the meeting. Party Chairman Janos Kadar is not here because of illness. Although another suggestion was made, the Central Committee adopted the agenda proposed by the Politburo and made public in advance. Karoly Grosz said the Hungarian Communist Party was founded 70 years ago. Then Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros briefed the session on topical international and foreign political issues.

He said the visit to Budapest by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, made more complete the harmony between the two parties' endeavors and approaches to their tasks. Crisis phenomena are appearing in both countries, and the necessity of reform, of progress, is recognized in both countries. The CPSU Central Committee affirmed that it will, in the near future, devote a separate session to nationality issues.

The keynote speaker evaluated Karoly Grosz's visit to Spain and France. It had special significance in that, although our political relations are settled, our economic relations have not improved satisfactorily, in spite of mutual intent. In Spain and France alike, our country is considered to be especially suitable for expanding economic cooperation. Hungarian-Romanian relations were also discussed with the Spanish and French leaders.

Naturally, Matyas Szuros touched on the new developments in this issue. We will report them in detail in the Midday Chronicle program. Matyas Szuros said that, simultaneously with the announcement of our official protests, we wished to provide an opportunity for the Romanian side to withdraw its measure. This has not happened. The Hungarian Government will take the necessary countermeasures. [end recording]

Szuros Speaks at Session

LD2211130888 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Report on 22 November MSZMP Central Committee session in Budapest by correspondents Attila Balint and Pal Toth—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Balint] General Secretary Karoly Grosz is presiding over the meeting. [passage omitted covered in referent item] The Central Committee was briefed by Secretary Matyas Szuros on topical international and

foreign political issues. Szuros began with an evaluation of Soviet-Hungarian relations and with Aleksandr Yakovlev's visit to Hungary.

[Begin Szuros recording] The results of our discussions supported our earlier assessment that relations between the two parties' work and approaches to tasks have recently become more complete. Comrade Yakovlev emphasized several times that our problems and those of the USSR are very similar. According to Yakovlev, Hungary was the first socialist country to recognize the necessity of socio-economic changes. At one time our country was accused by the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, of revisionism, and was sharply criticized. Now however, we in both the Soviet Union and Hungary recognize the necessity of reforms, progress. [end recording]

[Balint] Matyas Szuros added to the briefing, which you could read in Saturday's NEPSZABADSAG, a mention of Karoly Grosz's visit last week to Spain and France.

[Begin Szuros recording] What gave these visits special significance was that our political relationship with both countries is essentially problem free but economic relations are not developing satisfactorily, despite the intention to cooperate, which was emphasized by both the Spanish and French. Progress in this area will make the whole West European economic system more balanced. The Hungarian intention of comprehensive cooperation was favorably received in both countries.

Obviously a part of this, along with their accentuated sympathy for our reform endeavors and our foreign policy openness, is that Spain and France have been trying recently to liven up their relations with the socialist countries. They regard our country as a visibly suitable partner for this. [end recording]

[Toth] Matyas Szuros also dealt with the serious provocation by the Romanian authorities on 11 November against the commercial counsellor of our embassy in Bucharest, who was expelled from Romania 19 November. Szuros said:

[Begin Szuros recording] The facts, what is more, even the Romanian statements, demonstrate without a shadow of a doubt that what happened was a police action that served a specific political goal, that was planned in advance and conducted in accordance with a script, and that has brought a new element of tension into Hungarian-Romanian relations. In the wake of the closing down of the Kolozsvar Consulate, the Romanian side has once again carried out an action which spectacularly transgresses valid international law. Our relevant government organs, on the basis of a principled position, endeavored to settle the affair in line with our interests. Simultaneously with the announcement of our official protest, we wanted to provide the Romanian side with the opportunity to withdraw its move, whose purpose was to damage our relations, even though there was no

real hope that they would withdraw it. Since our foreign representation is carrying out its work in line with valid international agreements and norms, we had no reason whatsoever not to publish the facts.

Finally, I wish to emphasize that the government is paying continuous attention to this question and will take necessary and appropriate countermeasures. [end recording]

Grosz Queried on Domestic Situation
*LD2111215188 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 21 Nov 88*

[Janos Elek interview with Premier Karoly Grosz; date and place not specified; no video available—recorded]

[Text] [Elek] I think that these days you must surely be thinking about what you announced—that within a few days you will hand over your position as premier to someone else. By circumstance, at such a time, one draws up a kind of balance sheet, what one owes and demands.

[Grosz] I did not know with precision, when I became premier, what this change—not personnel change, but this economic-political change the Central Committee had begun discussing before I was appointed premier, and ripened—would mean for me. I knew that I had to work, had to formulate a government program to resolve economic problems. I also knew that it was necessary for me to assume more government work to prepare laws in the interest of creating constitutional statehood. I had ideas, I was not mentally prepared for the extent to which this would be an era which was so wide-ranging, multicolored, manifold, which formulated new requirements nearly every day.

As we proceeded in the current of events, that is—as we solved things, as new problems appeared, we recognized in the midst of this how much ahead of us was still awaiting a solution. The point of departure for drawing a balance is very important. Compared to my hopes for functioning in this sphere, I believe I have been able to fulfill much more than I thought possible. But compared to what I recognized as what ought to be done, and what I recognized while en route—not when I was accepted by parliament, and not when parliament adopted the government program but what I recognized as having to be done, while en route—I have done very little.

[Elek] Things in Hungary have accelerated quite a lot. In your opinion, are the people able to follow this acceleration?

[Grosz] It is with great difficulty that they are able to follow it. That is one of the most essential, most salient contradictions of the current situation. Events really have accelerated. We wanted to speed them up to this extent. Yet, somehow, the internal, self-laws of this acceleration pushed the wheel forward. The leadership

tried to catch up, sometimes handle, direct, occasionally slow down, this process it had launched. Sometimes this succeeded, sometimes it did not. So, it is true that events have accelerated. They have accelerated, not only under the impact of internal processes, but also accelerated under the impact of international processes. Therefore, the leadership had to handle the process it had launched so that it moved in a more-or-less predictable direction, and at the same time it had to handle a tendency elicited by international influences, and, not last, it had to handle the consequences of the burdens of the earlier debts.

[Elek] Especially the nation's financial debts...

[Grosz interrupts] No, no, no, no. Moreover, not primarily financial debts, although those too—I do not want to underestimate them. However, we fell behind in many things. Should I give an example? For example, the issue of a referendum is contained in the 1949 Constitution, but we have not passed a law since 1949 about how to hold a referendum. I could mention other issues—the right to strike, and others.

So, processes accelerated—as we wanted them to accelerate—and a dynamic movement began under the impact of events, external events. And as reflected by this, I feel that the leadership, although it directed or was present throughout the processes, was occasionally unable to think in as clear a manner as it should as a consequence of the change. For this reason—what I am saying is harsh—we are acting in a slightly confused manner. This showed when the tax system was introduced, when the company law was prepared, and so forth. This cannot be done for long. It cannot be done, because intentions are one thing, and consequences another. And acting in a confused way can easily have the same consequence as doing nothing, or lacking courage, or being indecisive. This, therefore is what we must be warned against. I believe that this acceleration will continue, but we will be more circumspect in the future, and we will handle the issues awaiting solution in a more resolute manner.

The Party movement must first influence this process, and second, must support it. It is necessary to activate the membership to do these two things. There will be much debate on this, since people know what is awaiting us, and opinions will be very divided. To create unity in this, to [words indistinct] unity in debate, (?demands) very active political work—guiding, organizing work. If we want the Party to play a determining role in the world, then it is primarily within the Party that this work must be done.

The relationship between the Party and those outside it must also be changed, by work; trust in the Party must be strengthened and placed on new foundations. This sets the general secretary the same kind of task as it does individual communists, yet his responsibility is that much greater in that he is the Party general secretary.

New Tabloid To Be Launched in November
LD1611233688 Budapest MTI in English
1028 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 15, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A new daily paper is to hit Hungarian newsstands in November called "A NAP" (THE SUN).

Editor-in-chief, Istvan Horvath informed EONEWS that it was going to be an independent daily which he termed a tabloid.

The circulation of the 24 page THE SUN is expected to be between 80,000 to 100,000 a day and it will be released in Budapest and some major rural cities at 11 a.m.

Some 20 per cent of the printed surface will be taken up by advertisements, and 40 per cent by photos and drawings.

A third of THE SUN's between 40 and 50 strong staff are sub-editors and photo reporters, the rest are full-time journalists. Their number is a third or half, at most, of the regular staffs of Hungarian daily papers.

The daily intends to publish many political news and church information, a practice that has been missing from Hungarian daily journalism for the last forty years.

The paper will go to print at 10 a.m. and appear at 11 a.m. The fast speed is guaranteed by a fully electronized editing work. In fact THE SUN will be the first fully electronized daily.

An economic partnership has been formed to publish THE SUN with the involvement of the Hungarian Creditbank and Reform Ltd.

The starting capital of 10 million forints has been signed also by two Hungarian Creditbank affiliates, and two HSWP publishers, the Newspaper Publishing Company and Kossuth Publishers, as well as the Hungarian Television, Zrinyi publishers, the Rubik Foundation, Okisz and the Patriotic People's Front.

As will be evident from the names of the shareholders list, the new daily will be close to the recently established "REFORM", a weekly magazine.

THE SUN economic partnership has invited the printing house, the Hungarian Post as distributor, the Skala Advertising Studio and Szki, the supplier of electronics to join in. If they did join, an unprecedented identity of interests could be created in the history of the Hungarian press.

THE SUN will appear every day except on Saturdays and will cost somewhere between 6.60 and 7.50 (US 12 to 14 cents).

Dailies currently cost 1.80 forints in Hungary, but a considerable rise projected for early next year is to push prices to between 5 and 6 forints.

For the last forty years Hungary has had only one afternoon paper called ESTI HIRLAP (EVENING NEWS) since 1957, which is the paper of the Budapest HSWP Committee. It is published by one of THE SUN's shareholders the Newspaper Publishing Company.

THE between 200,000 and 250,000 circulation, eight page ESTI HIRLAP appears every day except Sunday and makes a very large profit, which totalled 70 million forints last year, and the Newspaper Publishing Co. expects to cash at least just as much this year. It carries the same surface area of ads weekly as the area allocated to news and the paper has cashed 120 million forints from advertisements alone this year.

The Newspaper Publishing Company declined to comment why they took part in financing a competitor. An ESTI HIRLAP editor Mr Ervin Reti said to ECONews their staff were happy monopoly positions were disappearing in the whole of the economy. So far, being the only one, it was easy for ESTI HIRLAP to be "the best afternoon paper," hereinafter they will have to prove they are, and they welcome the challenge as a stimulus to improve their paper, Mr Reti said.

Leaders Hold Talks with U.S. Legislators
LD211123388 Budapest MTI in English
1933 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—Headed by Dante Fascell, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, a delegation of the U.S. legislation held talks in Budapest on Monday. The representatives and Senator William Roth met Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Rezso Nyers, member of the Political Committee and chairman of the Trade Committee of the National Assembly.

In the building of parliament the U.S. representatives held talks with Matyas Szuros, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly, and Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the delegation met Peter Varkonyi, minister for foreign affairs. In the evening Istvan Stadinger gave a reception in honour of the delegation.

Present at the talks was Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States to Hungary, and Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Following the talks at the parliament Andras Farago, head of the parliament's press office said to MTI that Istvan Stadinger gave a detailed briefing for the U.S. representatives on the Hungarian elections and the work

of the National Assembly. Istvan Stadinger pointed out that relations between the USA and Hungary have developed over the past two decades, and Hungary is interested in fostering good relations. Several U.S. experts and delegations have visited Hungary recently and it is noteworthy that many public personalities also wish to get acquainted with Hungary as private individuals.

The president of parliament stated that economic relations are developing although not spectacularly. It would be a very welcome contribution to this development if Hungary received the most favoured nation treatment for longer than a year.

At the talks Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, recalled that the U.S. delegation is the highest-ranking delegation of the U.S. House of Representatives visit to Hungary. He pointed out that fewer ideological aspects are needed in international relations, and foreign policy should follow realities. In the changing international situation Hungarian foreign policy is characterized by an increase in openness and the strengthening of national traits not with nationalist intentions but with consolidation of the country's endowments.

The U.S. representatives asked if the parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee can exert an influence on the policy of the government and the party. Matyas Szuros told the delegation that the committee takes a stand in major international issues such as disarmament or nationality policy. Outgoing Hungarian ambassadors now introduce themselves to the committee giving an account of their work. As regards the relations with the party they are based on the principle of reciprocity, and the opinion of parliament is also taken into consideration in foreign policy issues.

'The main thing with our visit to Hungary is to get practical information. We brought a large delegation of both parties that indicate our interest,' said Dante Fascell, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives to Csaba Kis, correspondent of MTI.

'We want to learn as much as we can about the dramatic changes that are taking place in this country, and what the hopes for the future are. And so we have met with political leaders, and others in this country including the representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Front and the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), and other organizations. We are very impressed with the determination in this country for change and improvement both economically and politically. What we see here is that the efforts for political and economic reform are designed, or the hopes are for, an improvement for the Hungarian people.'

'The USA is very interested in these changes, the elaboration and realizations of which Hungary is apparently taking the lead. That is the reason for why we are here, to show our interest and our encouragement in what is going on. We are impressed with the changes which are contemplated in the constitution, and the opportunities to be given to interest groups to express their opinion. The planned bill on assembly and association represents also a tremendous change in the right of people to express their opinion openly and freely without any fear.'

'The Hungarians are working very hard to find their place in the world. From an American point of view, we think this is highly desirable. We are looking for a way to work together to improve both our economic position and our political stability.'

Mr Fascell stated that the changes currently taking place in Hungary facilitates the development of bilateral relations. From the point of view of the USA it is of special importance in this field that Hungary has made tremendous steps in ensuring human and civil rights. This is 'an improvement in the economic capability for American capital to come in because we will view Hungary as a more stable place and there is no anxiety over the future of joint ventures.'

In this respect Mr Fascell voiced his conviction that the U.S. House of Representatives that at its latest session rejected granting state guarantees to U.S. investment in Hungary, will give [word indistinct] opportunities to Hungary. He also underlined that the rules in Cocom, restricting the export of high-technology, are to be soon revised, and a favourable development is expected in the near future.

Bucharest Embassy Working Normally
LD2211094788 Budapest MTI in English
0831 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest continues its work, in spite of the incident on November 14, said Hungarian Ambassador Pal Szucs, in a statement given to the daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP", carried in the Tuesday issue. The ambassador said that Karoly Gyorffy, the expelled commercial

counsellor, and his family have already left the Romanian capital. Ambassador Szucs said the commercial counsellor, worked untiringly to develop Hungarian-Romanian relations. It also becomes clear from the interview that the Hungarian Embassy still has no news about the Romanian citizen who was in the car of Karoly Gyorffy when the counsellor was taken to police headquarters by the Romanian authorities on November 14.

Berecz on Economic Relations With Romania
LD2111155488 Budapest MTI in English
1450 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 21 (MTI)—Frigyes Berecz, minister for industry, who returned from Bucharest on Saturday, gave a statement to "NEPSZABADSAG" on the session of the Hungarian-Romanian Joint Government Committee for Economic Cooperation. The incident with Hungarian commercial counsellor Karoly Gyorffy took place while Mr Berecz was in Bucharest.

The minister said, "I noted that political tension was not felt during the talks. The constructive discussion helped us get closer to one of the aims of the Arad meeting—to increase turnover from the current 600 or 650 million roubles to 1,000 million within a few years. Turnover is expected to improve not only in value but also in composition.

"Anyway, trade with Romania has always caused the least problem to Hungary in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, as both parties took particular care of balance. Even up to now, turnover has been growing dynamically, but now progress is apparent in other areas as well. Our intention to solve the increasingly pressing problem of car supply is widely known, and now the appearance of the first Olcit [as received] in Hungary was laid down in a protocol."

Asked whether the act of provocation against the Hungarian commercial counsellor in Bucharest was raised during his talks, the minister said, "Yes, it was unavoidable. I pointed out both at the meeting of the delegation heads held prior to the joint committee session and also to Prime Minister Dascalescu that we consider the accusations raised against Mr Gyorffy absurd, and we fear that the incident might upset the favourable development of economic links."

Polish Tourists Said To 'Denude' CSSR Market
LD2111202888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Before I give you the foreign political news, let's listen to our Prague correspondent Stanislaw Kaczmarek on a burning issue:

[Kaczmarek] On Sunday, the television here showed a report from a customs point in Petrovice, showing food withheld from Polish tourists. From the commentary, it transpired that these were mainly sweets, chocolates, nuts, coffee, cocoa, and southern fruits. In 5 days, goods worth Kcs 133,000 were retained. It was said that trains to Poland are loaded over the passenger limit, while the customs base head, Manfred [name indistinct] stated that there were 2,230 persons on the Silesia train. It is not difficult to calculate, therefore, that the Polish tourists from the Silesia train, transported during 5 days, retained goods to the value of Kcs 11 and 90 halere each.

Is this a tempest in a teacup? It could be called that, but for the fact that, after the television report, it is said in the city that the Poles denude the market here. The new customs regulations have really been justified by the necessity to protect the internal market. No one can have any grievances regarding this here.

The Main Statistical Office confirmed the growth in Hungarian tourists, now 4.3 million; and a 53 percent increase in GDR tourists, now 7.4 million. However, a drop in Polish tourists now numbering 3.297 million has been noted, and this number includes 80 percent day trips, transits and Saturday-Sunday trips. What is happening at border points with Poland—since that is all that is being talked about here—is really a tempest in a teacup, the echoes of which may, nevertheless, be heard very widely. This is Stanislaw Kaczmarek speaking from Prague.

CSSR Diplomat Summoned Over Customs Delays
LD2111193888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Due to the hampering of passenger traffic, detaining trains for many hours and complications in road transport, Petr Hlavacek, head of the Czechoslovak Embassy Consular Department in Warsaw was summoned to the Foreign Affairs Ministry Consular Department. His attention was drawn to the incomprehensible practices of the Czechoslovak Customs Services in relation to Polish citizens. A demand was also made that the Czechoslovak side organize customs control so as not to create such difficulties for Polish citizens.

Rakowski Receives USSR Education Minister
LD1511100688 Warsaw PAP in English
2128 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—Poland's Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received here today Chairman of the USSR's State Committee for National Education Gennadiy Yagodin.

The two positively assessed all-round cooperation in national education and stressed the significance of the Polish-Soviet "Declaration on Cooperation in Ideology, Science and Culture" signed in 1987 for boosting this cooperation.

They said that the convergence of processes of reforms and renewal in Poland and of perestroika in the Soviet Union created conditions particularly conducive to further intensification of cooperation and search for its new and effective forms.

Malinowski Meets SPD Delegation in Warsaw
LD0511225888 Warsaw PAP in English
1913 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 5—A group of SPD activists, currently visiting Poland, with Bundestag Vice-President Annemarie Renger, paid a visit today to Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski who expressed satisfaction with the rich infrastructure of parliamentary contacts which out-paced cooperation in other areas of Polish-FRG relations.

A considerable part of the talk was devoted to the Sejm's tasks in the act of reforming Poland's political and economic life.

Malinowski informed his visitors about the actions being undertaken by the new Polish Government aimed at quick and radical improvement of the economic situation, also by such radical actions as the closure of unprofitable enterprises or those detrimental to the environment.

Annemarie Renger stressed that in this last issue much could be changed for the better by joint international actions, including the creation of a European environmental protection fund.

The meeting was attended by FRG Ambassador to Poland Franz Joachim Schoeller.

Walesa on Situation After Talk With Kiszczak
AU2111212188 Vienna Television Service in German
1830 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Joana Radzyner report on interview with "Solidarity chairman" Lech Walesa in Gdansk on 20 November 1988—recorded; Walesa statements in Polish with superimposed German translation]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] It has become known that the talks between Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak on the previous day [19 November] were once again without any results; maybe one even has to speak of a temporary halt in the negotiations between the party leadership and the opposition. [passage omitted] Walesa does not conceal his disappointment.

[Begin Walesa recording] The political decision in favor of pluralism has not been made. In my opinion it was only a beginning, in all too limited a form, a patchwork, nothing else, in which we can no longer believe. We think that today we need courageous decisions, decisions that are based on democracy and freedom. However, the leadership's understanding of freedom proves to be so narrow that it cannot provide the opportunity for reforms in Poland. What the government proposes today is not enough for the 21st century. [end recording]

And what is Walesa's general opinion of the Rakowski government?

[Begin Walesa recording] I think very little of this government. I think that Rakowski will stand no chance if he continues to tackle reform only halfheartedly, which is a shame, because time does not stand still. What is happening today is not only not a step forward, and is not even marking time, it is a rush backwards. And this is how I would describe the situation with regard to all questions with which Mr Rakowski deals. [end recording]

Walesa Meets Church Leaders 18 Nov
AU1811171388 Paris AFP in English
1704 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 18 (AFP)—Solidarity head Lech Walesa held fresh meetings with leaders of Poland's Roman Catholic Church here Friday in preparation for the repeatedly postponed round-table talks between the government and opposition, informed sources said.

But there was no sign as to whether he would meet Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak or other government representatives, as planned, later in the day.

Mr. Walesa, whose Solidarity trade union is banned, arrived from his hometown, the northern port of Gdansk, Thursday night amid reports he would meet Gen. Kiszczak early Friday.

But he remained in the church offices throughout the day, sources there said, holding talks with religious leaders and Solidarity advisers in turn.

"I'd like to know myself what's going on," Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz told reporters. He would not rule out the possibility of a sudden meeting between Mr. Walesa and Gen. Kiszczak.

Episcopate spokesman Monsignor Bronislaw Dabrowski said they might meet here Saturday or Sunday.

It would be the fourth meeting between the two men since August in preparation for the round-table talks, which are aimed at finding solutions to the country's long economic and social crisis.

Intense talks have been going on secretly during the past 24 hours to reactivate the process leading to a round-table meeting, the sources said.

Mr. Walesa earlier said he saw no main obstacle to a new meeting with the interior minister, now that authorities have agreed to let workers sacked during a wave of strikes last August return to their jobs as of Monday.

Church representatives and industrial managers in the southern mining city of Katowice agreed on the issue 48 hours earlier.

Walesa Confirms Agreement To Talk With Miodowicz
AU1811145288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 Nov 88 p 2

[Report signed '(a.gol)': "Walesa Confirms UPI Report"]

[Text] On Tuesday [15 November] evening, we telephoned Lech Walesa in order to confirm a report conveyed to us by UPI's Warsaw correspondent today. The report said that Walesa had agreed to Alfred Miodowicz's suggestion to take part in a television discussion. This proposal was contained in yesterday's TRYBUNA LUDU interview with Alfred Miodowicz.

"I see I've brought the wolf from his lair," said L. Walesa. "Yes, I do confirm it. However, I have appointed Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Kuron, and Michnik to hold technical talks on this subject. Let them agree on all the details. I have been suggesting a discussion like this for 7 years. If anyone has any criticism to make of 'Solidarity,' let him make it. I can answer similar questions to the ones Miodowicz answers in TRYBUNA LUDU."

We have conveyed our conversation with Lech Walesa to Alfred Miodowicz.

Urban on Restructuring of Lenin Shipyard
AU1811130988 Vienna NEUE AZ in German
18 Nov 88 p 7

[Gerhard Plott report from Warsaw: "Walesa Faces Up to Television Duel; Poland's Trade Unions Disagree on Lenin Shipyard"]

[Excerpts] The Polish population is anxiously waiting for the television duel between Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa and Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the official OPZZ trade union confederation. The main topic of discussion will be the announced closing down of the Gdansk Lenin shipyard, against which the outlawed Solidarity trade union is vehemently fighting. [passage omitted]

"Not the shipyard, but the shipyard workers are important to us," OPZZ Deputy Chairman Uzieblo stated.

The confusing concepts of "liquidation" (government term) and "restructuring" (party term) were explained to NEUE AZ by Polish Government Spokesman Urban: "Restructuring will take place on the basis of liquidation." The present form of the shipyard company is liquidated in any case. So far, however, only the Katowice steelworkers have declared their readiness to take over part of the large-scale shipyard. They want to scrap the ships in the area.

Registration of Student Union Refused

AU1911091288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
15 Nov 88 p 4

[PAP report: "Refusal To Register the Independent Student Union"]

[Text] On 9 November, the head of the Socioadministrative Department of the City of Warsaw Office refused to register the association called the Independent Student Union.

The reasons for the decision are given as follows: The analysis of the documents and of the statute presented by founding members show that the application for registration is an attempt to reactivate the organization that was dissolved by the minister of science, higher education, and technology on 5 January 1982.

Despite its dissolution, the organization has not ceased to operate and to violate our legal order. One such violation was the organization by the Independent Student Union of meetings which were not legally sanctioned, including the meeting, which was called the Third National Congress of the Delegates of the Independent Student Union and which was held in Gdansk on 9-10 September 1988. In addition, the illegal union continues to infringe the current laws by publishing and circulating illegal publications such as NURT, CIA, and the IMPULS information bulletin. In this situation the registration of the Independent Student Union could occasion further violations of the law.

The decision not to register the union is not legally binding and may be appealed to the minister of internal affairs within 14 days of delivery to the union.

Rakowski Meets With Youth Leaders

LD0511071688 Warsaw PAP in English
2214 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 4—Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met here today with chairman of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth (ZSMP) Jerzy Szmajdzinski to discuss the problems of professional start of young people and housing construction. The men devoted much attention to the necessity of creating economic and social conditions favouring the realization of the goals and aspirations of young people.

The problems of the young generation of farmers were the subject of Premier Rakowski's meeting with Chairman of the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) Roman Kupijaj.

Rakowski Talks With Local Activists

LD1611044088 Warsaw PAP in English
0052 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 15—Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met today with activists of the municipal water supply and sewage enterprise here. He acquainted himself with the over 100-year-old history of the enterprise, its investments and difficulties encountered while operating the systems.

Hosts of another meeting with Rakowski were today first secretary of the PUWP Warszawa-Wola District Committee and party and management activists of local industrial plants producing airplanes, tractors, computer hardware and car equipment.

Expressing his attitude to the issues discussed at the meeting, Rakowski said that a certain chapter of building of socialism in this country closed, and a new one has begun. Today, we abandon a whole structure which was invented and consolidated for many decades.

This turn is extremely difficult, as very often we themselves are, subconsciously, the carriers of such way of thinking or of old habits. If one generation and a half worked to consolidate here such an edifice of economy, it is hard to depart from it even during 10 years. Rationalization of the economic and social policy is not only a question of a concept, but also of time and experience, Rakowski said.

The premier emphasized the significance of decisive actions introducing concrete changes in the economy, and, consequently, in the social and political sphere. These should be actions bringing hope that things can improve. The society expects that such decisive actions and moves denying the feeling of inertia, will continue to be taken, said Rakowski.

The line of the government's policy presented by Rakowski met with approval of the participants in the meeting, which was proved by the call addressed to the premier: "Stand the course."

Party 'Crisis' Explained, Restructuring Advocated

AU1611131688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 Nov 88 p 7

[Leszek Grzybowski article: "Remarks About Changes to the Party Model"]

[Excerpts] The party is experiencing a crisis, illustrated by the following phenomena, among others:

—The weakness and low level of influence of many primary party bodies;

- A failure by many PZPR members to identify with the party;
- An absence of an unequivocal ideological interpretation of social, economic, and political processes;
- a low level of commitment by party members;
- Insufficient party influence and low party prestige among the workers, peasants, and young people;
- Poor results in recruiting new members among these milieus;
- Bureaucracy in party cells, and ineffective action by them.

Therefore, the crisis involves key spheres of party work, in particular the work of party members, the party's relations with the social base, and the style and effectiveness of the work of party cells.

One can ask whether this crisis is the result of actual economic and political difficulties, or whether it is based on more fundamental structural factors.

Many features indicate that this is a structural crisis. The crowning argument in favor of this explanation is that the above negative phenomena did not appear suddenly in the 1980's, during a period of economic and political and economic collapse. They have existed and been slowly developing practically ever since the PZPR was founded.

It would seem that one of the reasons behind this crisis is that the rules whereby members and party cells exercise direct authority have existed in their present form since the 1940's.

Today, at a time of political and economic reform, the discrepancy between traditional methods of party functioning on the one hand and the changing reality of our lives on the other seems to be becoming greater and greater. As a result, instead of inspiring progressive transformations, party cells are merely observing them. What is more, many of them are actually hampering these transformations.

Below I suggest various solutions concerning the mechanisms of party functioning.

The origin of the model of party membership which makes high moral, professional, philosophical, and political demands of party members and candidate members, and makes it compulsory to display unceasing commitment, lies in the past struggle for power. This model remained valid during the period of authoritarian administrations. However, at a time of democratization, when more and more people are taking part in the exercising of authority, the party must struggle for votes, and not base its existence on the commitment and discipline of its members as a kind of social elite with increased rights and duties. Practice shows that even the development of the mass media is giving party members a new role as promoters, defenders, and spokesmen of the party's line and program.

In a situation like this, it is worth considering whether the party should not be made a much more open organization than it is right now. Liberalization ought to be applied as follows:

- A relaxation of the criteria governing members activity (a lot of members are passive, anyway);

- A relaxation of the requirements governing world outlook. It is clericalism that ought to disqualify a member, not the fact that he is a believer (most members are believers, anyway).

Ideology and politics ought to be the basic criteria for party membership. However, these criteria should be limited to an acceptance of the country's socialist development path. This calls for a major "opening of doors" toward the party.

It seems that the sharp distinction between party and nonparty people should be erased. There ought to be a new category of people, best described as sympathizers with the party line, people likely to support some party initiatives and undertake some action for the party's sake, while guarding their own interests and those of their milieu. People like this could be won over by making party work more "relaxed," without the unnecessary, and at lower party levels even ridiculous, political formality. [passage omitted]

The greatest characteristic of the present model of party functioning is the direct authority of party bodies that I mentioned in the beginning. But here there is a paradox. Having gained power by winning an election, in other words having gained the majority of votes, and having placed "its people" in key posts in the state apparatus, a party committee often acts in such a way that decisions of secondary and even tertiary importance are still reached during committee meetings. The landscape of a voivodship, city, or rural district contains two buildings; one housing the administration, and the other the party committee. Usually, it is the party committee and its first secretary that are considered to be redundant. Things are similar at the central level, although here the landscape contains a third building—the Sejm, which I think is more conspicuous than any local people's council.

A party committee should display great energy during people's council and Sejm elections, in other words, during struggles for power. Having gained this power, the party then gains the most important thing—an extensive apparatus of state institutions, including propaganda, the Army, and the militia, an apparatus that should be competently served by the people chosen by the party. And yet a party committee often fails to "hand over power," illustrated by the fact that the most prestigious post in a voivodship is not voivoda, or chairman of the people's council, but first secretary of the voivodship party committee.

In order to implement this power effectively, a party committee is obliged to employ a large apparatus to supervise, as it were, the work of the relevant cells of the state apparatus, or work out draft decisions and assessments with this apparatus.

I think this leads to a waste of resources, diminishes the feeling of responsibility of the authorities and state administration, and prolongs the making of decisions. It means that decisions requiring expert knowledge are made by unqualified leaderships of party cells.

In order to change this situation, it would be necessary for key party activists, having won an election, to occupy the most prestigious posts at a given level. Then power would shift to where it belongs, and the party committee would be an institution that supports its representatives and assesses their work. This support is especially needed by party Sejm deputies and people's councillors, who do not have much help from party cells these days, and are used by these cells in order to "transfer" party decisions to the Sejm or people's council.

I have just presented an idea about how to untie the knot caused by the merger of party authority, state authority, and state administrative leadership into one entity. It is worth noting that once the party really begins to play the role of a political party—in other words its bodies cease to take a direct part in solving social problems—then the role, organization, and most probably the size of the party apparatus will also change. After every election, a part of this apparatus would be transferred to the state administration, and another part, especially at the central level, would involve itself in examining the work of the state administration for the benefit of deputies and people's councillors. Those departments responsible for internal party work, in other words, organization and ideology, would be the most stable.

Baka Addresses Katowice Party Plenum

AU1111091188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
7 Nov 88 p 3

[Stanislaw Zielinski report: "Plenary Session of the Katowice PZPR Committee"]

[Excerpts] On 5 November, Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Politburo Member Zygmunt Muranski, who is top foreman of the Rydułtowy coal mine, attended the Katowice party's 6-hour debates of the issues which, although regional issues, are of importance for the national economy.

The Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee Plenum was opened by Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Voivodship Committee. [passage omitted]

Speaking in the discussion, W. Baka said that the plenum debates were fully consistent with the position assumed by the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, which amounts to support for the principles contained in the plan for the consolidation of the national economy.

The restructuring of the economy, W. Baka continued, is related to the general efforts to achieve normality in our situation. This means that we must not look for ways of restructuring the economy only in the decisions made by the Council of Ministers. All those concerned must also look for these ways in their own backyards.

Speaking about mining problems, W. Baka said: We think that the mining industry has to undergo deep-going reforms, but without rushing them. We must carefully find out what demands are placed on mining by the reform, by the natural environment, by the country, and by the region in which mining and its results are concentrated. Such careful considerations will help us to remove the odium from this greatly meritorious sector of the Polish economy, a sector which still has prospects.

Your session, W. Baka concluded, has initiated a qualitatively new stage of realizing the economic reform in Katowice Voivodship and countrywide.

Baka Holds Press Conference on Economy

AU111122088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
8 Nov 88 pp 1,2

[Jerzy Sieradzinski report: "Press Conference in the PZPR Central Committee—The Purpose of Party Assumptions in the Plan To Consolidate Economy"]

[Text] The party document entitled "Assumptions of the Plan To Consolidate the National Economy," which was published a few days ago, is the final directive for the government to devise such a plan, Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, said at the beginning of his press conference.

W. Baka recalled that the seventh party plenum called for devising a plan which would clearly define the basic social goals that we want to achieve within the next few years and which would mobilize all economic activities around these goals.

The "assumptions" do not amount to a plan as yet, because they merely define party strategy in the economy and are a clear concept of the necessary institutional and structural changes. At the same time, those assumptions oblige party cells and members to support the action lines proposed by the assumptions.

All of this indicates the party's new approach to methods of politically influencing economic decisions and formulating the party's stand on the basic issues of the country's development. The work on the consolidation

plan was not meant to do a job for the government; it was meant to direct activities to proper channels and to accelerate them by determining the party's stand.

Opening the conference, Slawomir Tabkowski, head of the Propaganda Department, said that the conference will introduce a new concept of the Central Committee's information-propaganda work. After this conference, S. Tabkowski said, we will hold meetings more often with journalists in order to inform them of the party's stand on various matters of key importance for the country and people. We also want to find out about your views, he stressed, adding that prior to the conference, the Central Committee had asked the plant committees in 200 large enterprises and the party's voivodship committees to send in questions connected with the published assumptions of the consolidation plan.

W. Baka answered questions from journalists. Most questions were on the proposed legislation connected with changes in various regulations to ease the implementation of the plan, on the nature of the planned principles of price-income policy, on the scope and rate of structural changes in the economy, and on possible improvements in living conditions.

Replying, W. Baka said that various views about the nature of the consolidation plan exist and that some want it to be directive in character and some want it to be a plan ready for realization. The party, W. Baka said, represents the view that the plan should be the subject of a Sejm resolution, which should include a packet of legal enactments for the implementation of the plan.

The consolidation plan adopted as a law would replace both the national socioeconomic plans and the annual plans in the next 2 years.

W. Baka stressed that the exceptional conditions under which it became necessary to draw up that plan require extraordinary measures to realize it. However, this does not mean that we want to extend the validity of the law on special powers for the government, which end with this year. I primarily have in mind, he said, accelerated changes in many regulations that restrict the performance of enterprises and the entire economy.

Halting inflation must be our top goal. Efforts to do that will take place on three planes: strengthening the role and function of money; keeping incomes under control; and strictly observing the tenets of new price policy, which will finally abandon the costly formula of shaping prices and which will let prices be regarded by enterprises as elements of external guidance.

We also think that living conditions should be improved in the next few years, mainly through improved supplies of goods, because experience shows that statistical wage data and even wage increases mean very little if the flow of goods ails and if money cannot buy the goods in demand.

W. Baka confirmed that the consolidation plan should be subject to a social contract. An optimistic alternative would be to provide for the signing of such a contract by all roundtable participants representing various social factions. However, should the process of national accord take too long a time, it would be desirable to accept the OPZZ's proposal to sign a social contract. Since proposals on incomes and prices are most sensitive, the Social-State Commission for Incomes and Prices could be a good forum for signing such a contract.

The consolidation of our economy will not be possible in a social vacuum, and even the best program will require a firm support by society. Alone, the assumptions of the consolidation plan seem to be attractive to many groups of our society because they seek to bring back a healthy and normal market, to introduce transparent rules of the game and stronger incentives for self-governing activities, and create opportunities for better exploiting initiative and enterprise and for reconciling individual successes with economic successes.

That does not mean that everyone will accept the consolidation plan. Conservative groups, which want to defend their present positions, especially their incomes, may be the primary adversaries of the consolidation plan.

Baka Gives Statement After Press Conference
AU1111122488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
8 Nov 88 p 2

[Jerzy Sieradzinski report: "Wladyslaw Baka's Statement for TRYBUNA LUDU"]

[Text] At the end of his press conference, which lasted over 90 minutes, Professor Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, made the following statement to your TRYBUNA LUDU reporter:

This conference has confirmed our people's lively interest in the party's "Assumptions of the Plan To Consolidate the Economy." The questions put to me did not doubt the correctness of the plan's action lines, but suggested that certain points and solutions in the plan should be formulated with greater accuracy, a matter which should be attended to in the draft program prepared by the government for the implementation of the plan. It is also natural that questioners were interested in the consolidation plan's new principles of price-incomes policy and in the social results that this policy may produce. Questions connected with the procedures of realizing the consolidation plan and with the ways in which some regulations will be changed are proof that the fate of the consolidation plan has been treated with great responsibility, W. Baka said.

Government Presidium, OPZZ Meet 9 Nov

Rakowski, Malinowski Speeches

AU1411164188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 Nov 88 p 2

[Report on speeches by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz at a joint meeting of the Government Presidium and OPZZ Executive Committee in Warsaw on 9 November]

[Text] Concluding the 9 November meeting between the Government Presidium and OPZZ Executive Committee, Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said that he would like his government, through its work, to put an end to society's feeling of powerlessness and standing in one place. Things need not be worse in Poland, and they may get better, he said.

He stressed that there are very many matters to be settled. There are problems that cannot be resolved in the space of 1 or 2 years. Some of these problems are like a Gordian knot. At the outset, we must do everything we can to rid our economic and social life of all the constraints and restrictions, and permit the individual to develop freely for the sake of his own happiness and that of the nation. We will not remove every single barrier to development and progress immediately, but we can and should make our lives more rational. We are able to mobilize the huge reserves that still exist.

It will be a great success if we reach the objectives we have set for ourselves, but we must remember that we will not satisfy every expectation and justified ambition. For this we need time and energy, but it is not just the government that should manifest this energy, but society as well, especially those considered to be leaders capable of making others follow them.

M.F. Rakowski said he was sure one could do more than has been done so far. He stressed that he had never been against discussion. Discussion, he said, is necessary. But I believe that activity is the most important matter for the government. At this point he referred to the decision to close the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, saying that this decision had already been made last summer. He said that if he had complied with the wishes of those who insist that the decision should be discussed more broadly, 6 months later we would have been in the same place as before the decision to close, and time is running away.

Taking such a necessary and radical decision, I asked the Sejm whether we would become isolated as a result, he said. I state with satisfaction that we are not isolated. The support in favor of changing outdated economic structures is a ray of hope for us, proving that we are capable of winning supporters for our economic policy aimed at rationalizing the pattern, structure, and employment in these economic structures. I appreciate all those dockers who have understood and calmly

accepted this difficult decision. I thank them for their attitude. The fruits of their labors and traditions will not disappear and be forgotten. There are no reasons for that to happen. I am also counting on society to stop treating the expressions "we must" and "one should" like empty slogans without any backing.

The premier rejected suggestions that the decision to close the shipyard was somehow connected with the former "Solidarity." The decision was made because the government thought it high time to commence the process of profound economic restructuring, all the more so because modest moves have already been made in this direction, for example the elimination of small cooperatives and plants.

We have heard a lot of criticism about the outdated economic model, he continued. Therefore, it is time to proceed from postulates to action. It is not I who am making economic decisions political.

Referring to a lack of confidence in the government mentioned by several participants, the premier said he understood the reasons behind it. However, he said, I would prefer it if mistrust changed to constructive trust. For we possess a common objective, and there is no need to antagonize each other. We will not be able to satisfy the trade unions on every issue; nevertheless our system needs a force that protects the interests of working people at every step. That force is the trade unions, whose ranks contain creative people of every orientation and disposition.

Alfred Miodowicz, OPZZ chairman, spoke next. He said: The fact that the government has already met with us after such a short time means that it appreciates trade union affairs and wants to help our movement solve working people's problems. We have listed these problems in the schedule of activity since the OPZZ congress, the results of this activity being satisfactory. The standard of living, level of real wages, and state of housing construction give cause for concern. It is good that we perceive the same priorities as the government, but if we argue during the process of solving problems, it would be considered natural to do so.

The closure of inefficient enterprises is a new and difficult problem for the trade unions. If the right enterprises are selected for closure, this lies in the interests of working people. But now we realize how difficult it is for everyone to agree as to the right choices here. With the Ministry of Industry, we should quickly resolve all the problems concerning the existence of the work forces of these enterprises.

Government-Trade Union Communiqué

AU1411162988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10 Nov 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Joint Communiqué"]

[Text] At the 9 November joint meeting by the Government Presidium and OPZZ Executive Committee, government representatives briefed the trade unionists on

the implementation of the resolutions and postulates of the OPZZ congress and assessed the country's socioeconomic situation. They presented concrete decisions that had been taken as soon as the new government had been appointed, and forthcoming plans. Both sides affirmed that the priorities in the work of the government were in accordance with society's expectations.

The OPZZ Executive Committee said that the government's activity, including the abolition of superfluous rules, administrative personnel cuts at the intermediate level, and demonopolization of food procurement and sales, had been approved by trade unionists. Nevertheless, the Executive Committee made it clear that should the government and ministries reach decisions that go against the resolutions of the OPZZ congress, the OPZZ would not hesitate to protest. The impact of various decisions on the standard of living of working people will always serve as a criterion for trade union assessments.

The government representatives underlined the conformity between the supreme objectives of the government on the one hand and trade unions on the other. However, the fulfillment of the trade union movement's social and economic postulates is only possible if the economic reform is implemented with consistency and determination, so as to ensure an accelerated economic growth. The government must define its programs and actions according to economic laws.

It was considered expedient to continue to prepare for the conclusion of a social contract between the government and the OPZZ. This contract should define the most important social objectives, suggest ways of dividing the national income, establish the level of social benefits, and determine the implementation period and chief paths of the program to consolidate the national economy.

The OPZZ Executive Committee insists that the workers of the enterprises destined to be closed be fully safeguarded. These workers should preserve their basic workers' rights and have guaranteed possibilities of further work, using their qualifications and experience.

The two sides expressed the conviction that an awareness of common objectives will permit the working out of a new and effective strategy of joint activity between the government and the trade unions.

Rakowski Chairs Meeting on Prices Commission
LD1611093788 Warsaw PAP in English
2230 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—The establishing of a social and state commission for prices and incomes was discussed here today during a meeting chaired by Poland's Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

The premier recalled that the initiative to set up such a commission was launched during the 7th PUWP CC plenary meeting. The government is taking up this initiative with hope that the activity of the commission will make it possible to improve consultations and the process of laying down directions of price and income policy, stressed he.

The commission would introduce multilateral negotiations and seek consensus between employees, employers and the government, and between farmers and other groups of working people.

The meeting stressed the purposefulness of establishing such a collective body which could be a forum for reaching an agreement on sensitive issues. It also discussed a draft agreement on setting up the commission its shape, forms of work, and problems it is to deal with.

Members of the committee will hold another meeting next week.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-8 Nov

AU111112788 [Editorial Report] The Polish press during the 2-9 November period reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Olsztyn people submitted their complaints and proposals to Alfred Miodowicz and Gabriela Rembisz on 4 November. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Nov 88 p 4)

Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski received Zbigniew Gertych, Polish ambassador to Great Britain, on 2 November. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Nov 88 p 2)

Politburo member Kazimierz Barcikowski met with leaders of the National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations on 5 November. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 88 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and CC secretary, attended the 2 November PZPR meeting in connection with the upcoming 40th anniversary of the Unity Congress of the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Nov 88 p 2) On the same day, he attended the PAP staff's open meeting on the coming third party ideological conference. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Nov 88 p 3) On 8 November he received a delegation of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society and met with the party organization of the ARGUMENTY weekly. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 88 p 2)

Politburo Member Tadeusz Porebski informed journalists on 7 November that the Sejm would hold three 2-day sessions in December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov p 5)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, attended the 4 November meeting of the Workers' Consultative Team of the Warsaw PZPR Committee,

discussing economic reform, the December party ideological conference, and the national conference of PZPR delegates to be held in the spring. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Nov 88 p 4)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski received Colin Campbell, chairman of the Rockefeller Brothers' Foundation, on 4 November. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Nov 88 p 4)

Demonstrations in Kosovo Province Continue

Orahovac Marchers Approach Pristina

LD2111200488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1626 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Pristina, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—In Kosovo Polje near Pristina it is quiet. There are no gatherings of citizens, nor signs of tension. [passage omitted]

In Pristina it is already dusk, while the column of demonstrators, which is being safeguarded by police patrols, is only three kilometers from the entrance to the town. The municipality of Orahovac, where the demonstrators originated, numbers about 45,000 inhabitants and is about 70 kms from Pristina. While the demonstrators were approaching Pristina, small groups of people shouting the already well-known slogans began sporadically to gather in the town center.

Demonstrators' Activities 'Synchronized'

LD2111174188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Soon after 1600 today, the first groups of demonstrators appeared on the streets of Pristina chanting the slogans "Tito-party," "No to resignations," "Long live Vlasi," and "Long live Kacusa." The group of demonstrators appeared in the center of Pristina just as the column of several thousand like-minded people from Orahovac was approaching Pristina. This group spent almost all today marching from Orahovac toward the Kosovo capital. This synchronized timing clearly indicates that the present wave of protest gatherings in Pristina is not spontaneous, but rather is taking place according to a set plan and a precisely defined scenario.

5,000 Gather in City Center

AU2111192888 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Milisav Milic report]

[Text] Today demonstrations were again held in the streets of Pristina. Milisav Milic reports:

[Milic] This evening some 5,000 demonstrators gathered in the center of Pristina. They chanted: Tito-party; Tito, Kacusa, Azem; and they sang nationalist songs. Despite the appeal by the LCY Central Committee Presidium for demonstrations to cease immediately, a group of 4,000 demonstrators arrived in Pristina from Orahovac. They were joined by Albanians from Klina and other places.

Some columns of demonstrators are led by well-known nationalists, among whom are several nationalists who were convicted for hostile activities in 1981. In order to avoid a clash with the militia, they also carry the Yugoslav flag and chant: Tito-party.

The Kosovo Executive Council appealed to the demonstrators to stop gathering and announced that it will undertake measures to protect the constitutional order, the public peace, and order in the province.

In the Boro i Ramiz hall, the demonstrators were addressed by Nebi Gasi, member of the Kosovo Presidency. If you wish to do Yugoslavia and Kosovo good, return to your homes. Please, let us not have any further such manifestations from now on. Otherwise, we will lose the support of the workers class of Yugoslavia. This will in turn make the situation significantly more difficult, Gasi said.

The demonstrators were offered buses to take them back to Orahovac and other places in Metohija.

Gasi Appeals for Halt to Protests

LD2111191588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1802 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—"If you wish Yugoslavia and Kosovo well, return to your homes. Please let there be no more such manifestations from this evening onward. Otherwise, we shall lose the support of Yugoslavia's working class and the situation will thus become considerably more difficult." This was the warning given by Nebih Gasi, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, this evening to 5,000 demonstrators who were at the Boro i Ramiz youth center hall after gathering this afternoon in Pristina.

The demonstrators welcomed Gasi's words with whistles, and some time later, at about 1800, when Ruzica Isma again stepped out from their ranks onto the platform, they nevertheless moved toward the hall's exits. Some headed toward buses, but the majority stayed tightly packed together chanting: "We are going to the committee" [provincial committee building].

Some Demonstrators Disperse

LD2111214088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1958 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—At about 2000 this evening groups of demonstrators who had again today been out on the streets of Pristina began to disperse. Some of them went to their homes in Pristina, others boarded coaches back to Klina, Orahovac, Prizren, Podujevo, and other places in the province, but the third group—the most determined and the smallest—is still outside the Boro i Ramiz center carrying banners and chanting slogans.

Between 5,000 and 6,000 demonstrators, mainly young people with most of them secondary school pupils, gathered in Pristina early this evening. Today the demonstrators again chanted slogans calling for the decision on cadre changes in the Kosovo LC top leadership to be rescinded.

Summary of 21 Nov Rallies

AU2111213988 [Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 21 November includes in its 60-minute newscast 25 minutes of reportage on the political situation in Kosovo during the day.

The first report, on the general situation in Kosovo, states, "The situation in Kosovo continues to attract public attention, with its expressions of dissatisfaction at the decisions of the recent meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. Although a fairly large number of citizens from Orahovac and some from Klina arrived in Pristina at about 1630, it could nevertheless be said that the situation in the main center of our province is relatively quiet."

The report later states, "This afternoon a group of citizens and working people of all our peoples and nationalities arrived in Pristina from Orahovac commune. Later, some school pupils from Klina arrived." This is followed by a report by Beqir Sopa and Betush Gashi which states, "Today at about 1630 a group of roughly 4,000 citizens and workers of all nationalities from the working collectives of Orahovac commune arrived in Pristina. They carried state and party flags, flags of our peoples and nationalities, and photographs of Comrade Tito, and shouted: Tito—party, We are Tito's, Tito is ours. After waiting for a short time in front of the Kosovo LC Committee building, they went to the Boro i Ramiz center at the insistence of provincial and communal officials. As a symbolic gesture, the Yugoslav flag was closely tied to the flag of the Albanian nationality. In the hall, those gathered were addressed by Nebih Gashi, member of the Kosovo Presidency." The report continues with a 5-minute recording from the Boro i Ramiz center, in which Gashi, who is partly drowned out by cheering crowds and whose voice is largely indistinct for acoustical reasons, appeals "for us all to solve together the problems with which we are confronted, all the problems with which the LC and the whole country are dealing." Gashi can also be heard appealing to "brotherhood and unity" and calling for "a halt to these demonstrations." A "worker from Orahovac," whose words were also mostly indistinct, then reads aloud a letter in Serbo-Croatian addressed "to the highest party and provincial authorities." The letter states, "I want to express the desires and demands of the peoples and nationalities of Kosovo, the demands and desires of the workers class, the desires of schoolchildren and students." The letter mentions "Tito's road" and states that "were he with us now, this would never have happened. [shouts of: Tito, Tito!] It is not up to us to change his ideas and views. They have led us to security and ideas of realism. We have respected his words and we continue to exist, which is why we are here. Long live our (?god) Tito. Long live brotherhood and unity. Long live the Central Committee of the SFRY." [sentence as heard] The report goes on to state, "After her insistence that the crowds should disperse was received with applause, the masses left the Boro i Ramiz center, where

buses were waiting for them, and they departed quietly. As we have just been informed, a group of about 2,000 persons, citizens, workers, and schoolchildren, who arrived shortly before the rally, are presently in front of the Kosovo LC Committee building."

A report on an extraordinary meeting of the Kosovo Executive Council today states that the council issued a communique saying that "protests could create the kind of situation that would call for measures for maintaining constitutional order and public order and peace in the province. The Kosovo Executive Council assessed the political-security situation in Kosovo to be difficult and very involved, and also stressed that single-nationality gatherings are harmful and arouse concern and national division."

A further report describes the situation in various centers of Kosovo during the day. The report states that in Urosevac "the situation has not been quiet." A small group of 50 young people of Albanian nationality, who were mainly unemployed, shouted slogans in support of Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and Ekrem Arifi. They paraded through the streets of Urosevac. Thanks to the maximum commitment of activists of the communal SAWP conference, the communal LC, and the territorial defense authorities, these young people dispersed and returned to their homes.

The report states there have been "no mass gatherings, work stoppages, or boycotts of classes" in Prizren, but that the Prizren All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee assessed the local situation as "involved."

The report states, "Yesterday evening at about 2000 a group of schoolchildren, young people, and citizens paraded through the streets of Suva Reka, where, after talks with communal sociopolitical officials, they dispersed peacefully. In Suva Reka, work and life is proceeding normally, and there is presently no sign of gatherings of working people and citizens."

The report states, "About 700 schoolchildren of Albanian nationality from the Ribar Brothers High School in Istok, and some other citizens, demonstrated in the streets of the town today after 1300." "They shouted the now familiar slogans: Kosovo, yes—Metohija, no; and Tito, Tito. The column carried the Yugoslav flag and photographs of Tito. Several hundred citizens watched the group but did not join it. Some participants set off on foot for Djurakovac and some others for Pristina, while others returned home."

The report states, "More than 160 citizens from the local community of Ljubiste, who were joined by some others, paraded through the streets of Vitina today, expressing their support for the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the LCY and Serbian LC Central Committees, Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, Ekrem Arifi, and Vojislav Zajic.

These citizens also shouted the slogans: Long live Comrade Tito; Long live brotherhood and unity and our peoples and nationalities; Long live the LCY, the Serbian LC, and the Kosovo LC; and Kosovo, yes—Metohija, no. After parading through the streets of Vitina, the assembled masses went to the hall of the Communal Assembly, where talks were held."

The report states, "At about 1500, 300 schoolchildren of Albanian nationality from all parts of Titova Mitrovica abandoned their classes and took to the streets. They carried photographs of Comrade Tito and the Yugoslav flag and that of the Albanian nationality, and expressed their support for the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, especially Kacusa Jasari and Azem Vlasi. They also shouted the slogans: Long live Azem and Kacusa; Long live Comrade Tito and the LC; Kosovo, yes—Metohija, no; in addition to other slogans. After their parade they went to the sports hall, where they were addressed by activists from the Titova Mitrovica commune. They were promised that their demands would be presented to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. The schoolchildren then dispersed at about 1630."

The report states that the communes of Lipljan, Vucitrn, Kacanik, and Stimlje are "quiet."

According to the report, "a group of 500 schoolchildren from the Ramiz Sadiku High School, and some other workers and citizens, gathered in front of the bus station in Srbica, with the intention of traveling to Pristina. However, after talks with sociopolitical officials, they returned to the House of Culture, where provincial and communal activists spoke to them."

The report states that "a group of 120 pupils of the Veljko Vlahovic school paraded through the streets of Pec at about 1600." According to the report, "after presenting their demands to the communal authorities and expressing their support for the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and shouting the slogans 'Tito—party; We do not want the resignations; We are not demonstrators,'" the protesters are said to have dispersed.

Youth Body Urges No Further Protests
AU221113788 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] The Kosovo Youth Presidium has called on young people, particularly those of Albanian nationality, to stop gatherings which take place outside the institutional framework of the political system. We are calling on young people in all communities of the province to stop calling for and demanding protests in Pristina, the statement says.

The Kosovo youth are calling for an energetic fight against any malicious tendency of individuals or groups which attempt to give rallies an undesirable direction or dimension, considering the situation which is difficult for all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo.

At the end of the statement, the Kosovo Youth Presidium expresses the belief that at this difficult moment the voice of reason will prevail among young people throughout the province.

2 'Nationalists' Sentenced by Pristina Court
LD2111174888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Pristina, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Two nationalists, Albanian Besim Zeka (18), and Muslim Esref Muhovic (23), who, during mass demonstrations by Albanian youth in Pristina, disturbed public order by shouting the slogan "Kosovo - republic," were each sentenced today, as a matter of urgency, to 60-days' imprisonment.

Criminal proceedings have been instigated against Ismet Makoli (24), who encouraged the demonstrations and the shouting of hostile demands. Makoli, who, according to a statement by the internal affairs service, is known for having previously incited racial, religious, and national hatred, has been sent for medical treatment until his trial is held.

According to a statement by the Pristina municipal magistrate's court, which passed the sentences, Besim Zeka shouted "Kosovo - republic" and other hostile slogans on Saturday, just before midnight, in front of the Kosovski Bozur Hotel. Esref Muhovic, a student of Russian at the philosophy department in Pristina, shouted the same slogan yesterday afternoon at the student center and called on other students to join the demonstrators. Zeka, whose father works at the security center of the Pristina Secretariat for Internal Affairs, was arrested by members of the security service, while students reported Muhovic to the authorities.

700 Albanians Demonstrate in Istok
LD2111213188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Istok, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—About 700 Albanian students from the Brac Ribar secondary educational center in Istok and a small number of citizens demonstrated today after 1300 in the town's streets. This time they marched during the day, and in addition to the familiar slogans, they chanted: "Kosovo, yes—Metohija, no", "Stipe, Stipe, Suvar, Suvar".

The column, which had Tito's portrait and the Yugoslav tricolor at its head, was watched by several hundred citizens who did not, however, join the column. A number of demonstrators started walking towards Dju-rakovac and Pristina, while another, larger group dispersed and went home.

Kosovo Assembly Debates Emigration From Province
*LD2211121088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 22 Nov 88*

[Text] Pristina, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The increasingly serious worsening of the political atmosphere and situation in Kosovo is the cause of the undiminished emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins. Increased illegal activity by Albanian nationalists is the factor contributing most to the Serbs and Montenegrins continuing to leave their homes. This, among other things, was stated in the analysis of the implementation of the Yugoslav program of measures and activities for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Delegates of all three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly are today discussing the implementation of this program and the creation of conditions for the return of people who emigrated earlier. In the first 9 months of this year 1,897 people emigrated from the province (comprising 150 families with 501 members, and 1,396 individuals). Figures from the municipal commissions also show that emigration is not diminishing: In this period about 500 requests were received from people to leave their centuries-old homes. Members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality with higher and further specialized education are leaving Kosovo in increasing numbers, although it is the emigration of people with secondary-level educations which continues to predominate.

The expected "river of returnees" is not essentially affecting migratory trends at present, for in the past 9 months 550 people have returned to Kosovo, but only 325 of them found employment.

Body Urges End to Demonstrations
*LD2211135788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 22 Nov 88*

[Text] Pristina, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo today appealed to working people and citizens, to the province's working class and youth, to stop massing in single-nationality gatherings. At a joint session of the Assembly's three chambers, Vukasin Jokanovic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, warned of the damaging nature of the gatherings, especially their negative effect on intranational relations in Kosovo.

He called on the delegates "to make efforts to stabilize the situation in Kosovo and to safeguard citizens' personal safety and that of their property, peace and order, normal life, and work. [no closing quotation marks as received] Jokanovic announced that at its next session the Assembly of the Kosovo SAP would discuss "recent events" in the province and the mass demonstrations by Kosovo's Albanian youth, demonstrations whose scale and vehemence are many times greater than "the unfortunate events" of March 1981.

Serbian LC Opens Conference in Belgrade

Milosevic Gives Report
*AU2111103388 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0817 GMT 21 Nov 88*

[Report: "The Tasks of the of the LC of Serbia in Implementing the Economic and Social Reform" delivered by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia, at the conference of the LC of Serbia in Belgrade on 21 November—live]

[Text] Comrades: The economic reform we are embarking on represents an enormous, even revolutionary, change. It is not a question of ordinary corrections to the economic system and socioeconomic relations or to the instruments of economic policy. It is a question of big changes at the very epicenter of social reproduction and in the way our society functions. It is only through a completely radical solution for the present situation, which is mainly marked by the economy's negative but objectively conditioned forms, unemployment and unused capacities, declining productivity, and a high and rising rate of inflation, that we can halt the trend of regression, the impoverishment of the people, and the spread of a lack of confidence in our economic and general socialist future prospects. The economy based on accords, the introduction of national economies or, more precisely, of state economies within the boundaries of republics and provinces, and the sovereign predominance of bureaucratic unitarianism have left chaos and poverty.

There is no longer any room for any increase in poverty and, even if there were, we would refuse to accept it. As the workers of Rakovica stated literally before the SFRY Assembly: "We refuse to accept humiliation. We do not wish to steal bread in the mess hall to take it home." Therefore, comrades, the reform must, above all, represent a break with the illusion that society's political factors can, using the methods of an economy based on accords, successfully manage the economic processes and relations, whether it is the case of enterprises, banks, trade, or all of them in their mutual relationship. Decision-making in the reproduction process must be returned to the hands of the direct producers and their enterprises, and it must be based on their motives and interests, their initiatives, and their ability to come to grips with risks, competitions, and all other known and unknown phenomena that are a part of the market economic operations in the world of which we are a part.

We can no longer discuss what is left to the enterprise after everyone has taken what he needs; we must discuss what the enterprise can give without jeopardizing its own development and without cutting off the branch on which we sit. We must face the fact that today factories do not belong to the workers, that they are not theirs

because surplus labor is not really put at the disposal of the workers; it is only put at their disposal on paper. The purpose of the reform is to return the factories to the workers.

As far as those who understand what I am saying are concerned, I could conclude this report at this point. But, because it is obvious that there are more of those who do not understand or refuse to understand what is involved, I will outline the substance of the changes for which we will struggle. But before I do this, I want to emphasize that there are many more of those who do not understand or who refuse to understand only among those who are in fact asked today, and not among those who actually create the value. But the reform must make it possible for those who create the value to be asked.

But let us move to the problem itself. A modern and efficient self-managing society, and this means above all a democratic society, can only be built on the basis of commodity production and a modern market economy because today the market represents the sole democratic mechanism within whose framework the business ideas and activities of subjective economic factors are valued. The opposite alternative is a bureaucratic evaluation that can lead to its extremes, Stalinism or cultural revolution within which the practice of social choice becomes the practice of the choice of a particular individual and a group around him and is imposed as the social choice. After all, many of our troubles have resulted precisely from the imposition of bureaucratic will regarding the volume and purposes of investments, from irrational foreign debts, and from wasting the funds thereby obtained. For this reason, the orientation toward market competition and especially to the world market and world competition represents the strongest generator of growth and efficiency of economic operations. It is precisely in this area where the need is greatest right now because many of our current material difficulties and the decline in the standard of living are the consequences of a slowdown in the growth of productive forces, decline in the efficiency of economic management, and the increasingly low productivity of social labor.

At the same time, commodity production predominantly based on public means of production represents the greatest guarantee for the material implementation of self-management. Detached from commodity production, self-management can only be developed as an abstract political relationship without any real growth of the material base and without any true links with the real factors of production.

Our practice has convincingly demonstrated that apart from commodity production it is impossible to establish a creative attitude in self-managers toward economic and social reality and, thereby, also their interest in and responsibility for what is taking place in the economy and society. If enterprises in Western countries are producing good results on the basis of the interests of the owners of capital, why could not at least something equal

if not even something better be achieved on the basis of the self-managing interests of workers in their collectives? The basic requirement is that these collectives must function on economic principles, act as real enterprises, strive to create profits, and constantly struggle for their share and place in the market. This requirement equally applies to production, trade, banking, and all those institutions outside the economy which normally function according to market laws. If workers and labor collectives must take the fate of their enterprises into their own hands on the basis of their own responsibility and their own risk, which is one of the most important goals of the reform, then this means that every collective must primarily base its economic operations on its own forces, knowledge, abilities, creativity, and initiatives and that it must create better conditions and magnify the wealth for itself and society primarily on this basis and on the basis of its increasingly expressed motivation and engaged creativity. It is the first and main goal of the economic and social reform to open up processes and remove all ideological and other blockades on the road to enriching the individual and society on the basis of work, and to make it possible for us to emerge as quickly as possible from a situation in which an enormous number of people live in poverty; to replace the decline in the standard of living with its growth; to enable workers and citizens to normally acquire for themselves more commodities and services; and to more wholly satisfy all needs of people and not to satisfy fewer and fewer of these needs, which is predominantly the case now.

Social relations are not created and built for their own sake, but are created and built to enable citizens and all of society to live better and better on the basis of these relations. Any progressive relations within which higher standards of living, a better life, and greater employment are lacking are progressive only on paper. For this reason it is our historical responsibility to the present and future generations to liquidate political voluntarism and to separate self-management as an historically progressive socioeconomic relationship from bureaucracy. We should link it with the commodity production as the only real and progressive material basis on which the advantages of self-management can be demonstrated and the desired results in productivity, efficiency, and whence the directly resulting prosperity, higher standard of living, and material and spiritual wealth can be ensured. At the same time, this is the only way to catch up with the contemporary world. It is precisely the commodity production that is at the core of all the most ambitious and economically most progressive trends. The elementary logic of commodity production and capital reproduction are always at the basis of all these trends, be it that it is a question of fantastic technological breakthroughs which the world has never before witnessed; or a question of enormous changes in the structure of world economy; or a question of creating large supranational economic integrations such as the EEC; and any derived political, military-strategic, or some other interests are only considered after this elementary logic has been satisfied.

By vacillating in and delaying the implementation of economic reform we have been left on the sidelines to a great extent in relation to this process. Any further vacillation geometrically and progressively increases our difficulties and prolongs the necessary time for solving the crisis through which we could have found our way even with much less reasoning and ability, but with only a little more harmony among ourselves and honesty. This fact, as well as many occurrences of abuse and unlawfulness which have been reported in all newspapers in recent months, best attest to the fact that reform cannot be successfully carried out without great cadre changes, because those who have benefited from the existing state of unlawfulness and irregularities will not carry out the reform. We have been led astray and carried away too long by the ideology of creating our own economic world with its specific laws of evaluation, with its criteria and methods of decisionmaking which only apply for us and in our country, with its thesis that everything imported is automatically expensive and everything produced in our country is less expensive regardless of its costs.

Incapsulation as a principle of organizing the economy has only been to the advantage of the interests of bureaucracy. Therefore the imperative of sobering up the economy, eliminating negative economic trends, relations, and tendencies, and essentially increasing the quality of our social efficiency and productivity must be set as our brave and resolute goal in this modern world tendency and process of the international economy. As a society we can only develop in the world in which we live and not outside of it and away from it on the basis of worthless agreements and accords with which we build illusions for each other.

How, for example, can favorable economic results be expected if the entire developed world is increasing its energy efficiency so that less energy is used for every usable unit and we are actually doing the opposite? A similar thing applies to raw material efficiency. The facts are stubborn. We simply cannot use more energy and more raw materials per unit than the developed world and live in the same way. Bureaucrats are not sensitive to this difference, but the market is. Therefore the price and quality of some products must be decided by the market and not by bureaucrats. It has been shown that they do not make decisions either in favor of a rational economy or in favor of themselves.

On the other hand each enterprise and individual must by itself answer the question of whether it is possible for us to live increasingly well while effectively working to half the extent of developed countries. Or how is it possible that we, Yugoslav peoples, who created a unified state through joint struggle, are nowadays having discussions about whether our market should be unified or common [zajednicki], and peoples who were waging bloody wars against each other 4 decades ago are now doing everything in order to create a unified market as soon as possible?

How can one explain the huge paradox between the openness of our foreign policy and the insular autarchic nature of our economic strategy. Have we not been able to use the huge advantages of our international reputation and well-being of the country, which was brought about by an extremely open policy—Tito's international policy oriented toward the world—as a necessary and sufficient signpost for an economic strategy which would be based much more on world economic processes for the actual reason of ensuring a better life for the country and of developing the economic foundations of our society more quickly and efficiently?

Capital from abroad, whether in the form of money, machinery, or knowledge, would, apart from reproducing itself, contribute to an increase in our productivity and efficiency. However, the unfounded, irrational, and I would even say primitive, fear of exploitation which has been served up to us by bureaucracy—which itself is on the lowest level of education and cultured existence—has made us eliminate those forms of involvement of foreign capital whose actual results could have had an essential influence on the quality of our business operations and high technological level.

Instead of this, we preferred to amply use foreign loans, which because of inefficient investment and low rate of reproduction—that is, wrong (?investment)—because these decisions were frequently taken on the basis of the personal criteria of the top leaders and not on the basis of economic criteria, are now creating huge problems in the distribution of our national income.

With its orientation toward commodity production and the world market, economic reform permits these still tough, negative relations and tendencies from the past to change. It is up to us to efficiently use the opportunities offered by the reform as much as possible to above all create an economic mood in our country which will be sufficiently recognizable and sufficiently stimulative for foreign investment.

Many countries, especially in the West, are sensitive to the presence of foreign capital. We are aware that we also have prejudices as far as this is concerned and should therefore get rid of these prejudices concerning the effect of foreign capital. The extent of its presence must of course be controlled because, like every serious state, Yugoslavia must specify the rules of behavior. However, all good business of mutual benefit should be realized.

We have been occupied with this aspect of economic reform for a long time for the simple reason that in the change to the economic structure in Serbia and serious [word indistinct] to foreign investment we are encouraged by the fact that this will guarantee security and economic interest. [words indistinct] of domestic accumulation and the inertia of many domestic economic

subjects, foreign investment, capital, and knowledge will represent a significant material lever in reaching the basic aim of accelerated development by increasing efficiency and productivity.

Of particular importance today is that potential which is Yugoslav in origin and is to be found abroad. Many of our workers temporarily working abroad have at their disposal great experience, knowledge, and resources which they could and would like to invest in their homeland if only they could be sure that the basic reason why they left is still not in effect, the reason that people cannot earn good incomes from good and honest work. It is in the nature of things that they would have to be given greater privileges than foreign investors and that we must then inform our people abroad through all means of communication and information and demonstrate in practice that with their knowledge and their resources with which (they can participate) in market economic operations, they cannot only earn quite a good income, but that they are a valuable factor of our economic recovery.

We must create conditions so that what has only been possible until now in foreign countries can also become possible in practice in our country as well. That means that all obstacles to their return and economic activity should be cleared away and that a great mobilization should be initiated for a way out of the crisis and for development which will welcome the contribution of every one of our citizens on whom the future, development, and fate of our country depend.

However, it is too much to say that our most significant potential is in fact those unused reserves which are at the disposal of the country. They are above all young and educated people whose employment represents the most pressing task, and their inclusion in the economy is our great comparative advantage in the next few years.

Comrades, we should not rigidly see this three-sided scheme of self-managing enterprises, which are the dominant ones, foreign enterprises, and private enterprises as forms which are separated. They are linked together according to the interests of working people and can be realized only through greater work productivity and better quality of products and services. We should make use of all the positive experience and ideas of others about the mixed economy for the sake of reaching our own economic and wider social aims.

The basic direction of the economic reform is the development of a general and economically motivated initiative, a rational utilization of all available financial and subjective resources, a competition among commodity producers, but also healthy links among them established according to technological standards and world economic criteria, along with a modern increase in the share of productive labor should create room for a considerable increase in employment and labor productivity. It is only when this is achieved that the main

characteristic of socialist society—that the position of individuals, work collectives, and broader communities should be primarily based on labor—will come to the fore. After all, only those types of social orders which ensure a greater labor productivity and [word indistinct] justice in relations among people have a future.

Even in capitalist countries the way to solve inflation and economic stagnation differs as to whether the entire burden of balancing and restructuring the economy is being transferred over to workers, small independent producers, and similar social strata or not, and in our socialist country, the concern that the basic interests of workers should be the basic interests in society belongs primarily to the LC.

The decisive role in the process of change we have opened is played by those collectives that have shown the greatest vitality in the crisis. Objectively speaking, it is they who can do the most in the first stage. However, it must be clear at this moment that the decisive role must be played by everybody—both those who work in enterprises with the greatest accumulation and those who work in enterprises with the greatest losses—and that every worker and citizen should do everything he can at his workplace, everything which is in the interest of finding the way out of the crisis and the humiliation we are experiencing both as a society and as individuals.

Within the framework of economic reform, we shall also carry out housing reform which will give a strong impetus to a swift increase in housing construction and at the same time have a significant influence on the increase in production in a whole number of economic branches. The huge social housing fund should be taken by the users under suitable credit conditions depending on their material possibilities. This will make all those superfluous, mammoth institutions and interest communities for apartments and for housing disappear and will open room for the development of many services and for new workplaces. This reform should give citizens the opportunity to buy apartments on the market on the basis of long-term credits and should provide economically more stimulating conditions and opportunities to those producing apartments for the market so that they can increase housing construction many times.

The economic reform is not only the reform of the economic situation and structure, but also the reform of consciousness and mode of behavior. From the standpoint of the role that communists play in implementing economic reform one can even say that it above all means change in consciousness, behavior, and relations which have so far produced poor results, that is, the deep economic crisis we are going through. Thereby, the changes in the following spheres of behavior are urgently needed: First, both positive and negative motivation and stimulation are mostly lacking. The huge portion of social work is done at an average level and its financial equivalent hardly ensures for bare subsistence. The new aspect that the reform must create is the possibility to

maximize earnings in all those situations where the contribution to national revenue [narodni dohodak] is great, as well as the chance of being left without workplaces and even enterprises in all those situations where there is no contribution being made to social product.

Second, in the modern world, in which quick changes are the only constant value, it is our task to increase the economy's flexibility, that is, adjustability, because within such changes, any rigid structures, particularly economic ones, mean lagging behind in development. Changes in technology, changes in the market, and changes in the quality of production factors demand that enterprises and entire national economies adjust themselves quickly, that they be flexible and open so that they can absorb these changes and turn them into new, better, and more profitable products and services.

Economic liquidation of enterprises is a completely normal thing and the gradual disappearance or gradual reduction of entire economic branches is a necessary prerequisite of the development of other ones which are more yielding and profitable and to which (?all) work and funds will be moving. All that we have been hearing for a long time—that everything we have created must survive, that the achieved economic structure is unchangeable, that changes would be fatal for the so-called broader social interest, that we shall be sorry in future, and the like—is no longer true. Change is the most prominent law of this time in which we are living.

Third, it is the reproduction of social capital and the increase in social production and national income, and not the logic of a natural balance in satisfying the needs of smaller or larger regions, that are the most important things in the commodity production to which we aspire. Success is measured and progress is achieved by means of expanding the existing and capturing new markets, by constantly improving the pressure in markets under the effect of competition, and not by means of any degree of achieving physical balances prescribed by a sociopolitical community.

Fourth, many forms of consumption in our economy and society can only be characterized as squandering. Our present attitude toward production and nonproduction consumption is in fact such that, with a little more organized and conscious effort, it would be possible to release those additional resources of which there is a shortage because of poor accumulation and which are necessary for us to embark on the road of more rapid development and an increase in the standard of living.

Fifth, we must abandon as quickly and resolutely as possible everything that reproduces the communal, provincial, or republican economies. The unity of the Yugoslav economic area and market, and the creation of system-related economic conditions, as well as other conditions ensuring a free movement of the basic production factors, labor, knowledge, and capital, represent the deepest economic and political interests of the SR of

Serbia on the road to a complete integration with the world economy and contemporary economic trends in the world. It is a question of the processes which we must actively promote and by means of which the economic operations and decisionmaking will objectively advance to a higher level, and Yugoslavia will become integrated through its production, technological, export, and development programs and activities precisely in the way in which the developed world is being integrated today. At the same time, economic operations will be released from numerous administrative and statist restraints at all levels which objectively distort the real evaluation of production factors.

The functioning of objective factors of evaluation on the basis of commodity production and market gives room for complaints and many suspicions that the strengthening of the federation's economic functions will represent a restoration of centralism and unitarianism. The unified Yugoslav market is not unitarianism, but rather a condition for Yugoslavia's existence. Without this unified market and under the conditions of the existence of republican and provincial economies, Yugoslavia is turning into a loose confederation and, with regard to its economic aspects, an increasingly poor hunting reservation in which the less developed are the object of exploitation by the more highly developed. The ideas of national economies represent a petit bourgeois demand that is basically primitive and that by its very nature is necessarily nationalist, backward, and linked to the past without any sense of the future. It is our view that Socialist Yugoslavia is a multinational voluntary community, that the federal system is irreplaceable, that the republics and provinces have significant obligations and rights among other things, in economic life as well. However, Yugoslavia must be a unified economic area where identical system-related solutions exist and where products and services, money and capital, people, and knowledge move freely.

If we strive to make Yugoslavia open to the world, then the last thing that can be tolerated is any artificial internal division. Therefore, we can only advance the economy and democracy, material well-being, and intellectual creativity by cutting the roots of bureaucratism and provincialism and every kind of primitivism. For this reason, the LC of Serbia advocates the strengthening of the necessary unified economic and political functions of the federation. It does not advocate this strengthening to return the existing predominant republican forms of statism to the level of federation but to ensure a strong, efficacious, and effective regulatory power for those areas of social reproduction in which the state must act efficaciously and resolutely in market economies. And the state is doing this in all, even the most liberal market economies. The LC of Serbia struggles against all forms of statism, at all levels, ranging from the commune to the federation. But the desire and aspiration to regulate the monetary-credit system, the system of foreign relations, the tax system, and the policies pertaining to them in a unified way cannot be called statism and centralism.

These elements are regulated in a unified way even by those federal communities, for instance the FRG or the United States, which have an expressly market economy. I think that it is of utmost importance for us in Yugoslavia to completely understand and clarify these matters. It is my impression that what is involved here are not only elements of conscious opposition, but also elements of a lack of understanding, which we should eliminate as soon as possible in the interest of all of us.

Consensus is a great achievement of modern society. A democratic social community, particularly a multi-national one, is impossible without consensus. This applies to us, too. However, through a consensus Yugoslavia is offered something different, namely that all republics and provinces are behaving in a petty way and bargain over every economic measure. If we do not have a modern, diverse, and flexible economy but have a [word indistinct] and territorially divided bureaucracy whose will is almost crucial for the position of work organizations, the state of general blockage in which we are all to be found is understandable.

The federal organs in our country have a lot, yet little power. They have it where they do not need it, and with their moves they cause great bias and disturbances among work organizations and even republics. They do not have power in the spheres which are part of the necessary modern macroeconomic policy. The federation must bring our work organizations out into the world economy under the same conditions under which their potential competitors operate. This is why we are opposed to an artificial favoring of certain branches of the economy and the favoring of certain areas because of their unequal geographical position.

Comrades, the path toward desired changes is not easy. We must not be stopped or slowed down by the fact that all the normative solutions have not been finalized, or the fact that the Constitution of the SFRY could have been more consistent and [word indistinct] more oriented toward commodity production and the market. In Serbia, we supported the amendments to the SFRY Constitution regardless of the fact that they are limited concerning the federation's powers and economic policies because we think that they are opening up space for modern forms of conducting business activities.

The Serbian Presidency Commission for Economic and Social Reforms has undoubtedly contributed to the creation of a favorable social climate of abandoning the old, conservative view of a socialist self-managing economy so it can be unreservedly said that with its concept it has contributed to forming the most progressive proposals for the reform of the economy. We will continue with our own solution to these problems and offer support for ideological, legal, and practical action to modernize the social forms and structures of our economy. If someone comes up with some good solutions before we do, then

we will support him. However, by ourselves we will be constant creative, independent participants in the realization of this fateful turnaround for our society.

However, the contribution of Serbia does not only lie in a definition of the entire concept of economic reform and essential economic systemic changes, but in specific results in business operations. In the last 10 months, the rate of industrial production was positive only in Serbia: A growth of 1 percent was achieved in relation to last year, while in Yugoslavia the rate of industrial production was negative, amounting to -1.2 percent. In relation to the other provinces in the country, exports in Serbia to the hard currency market are growing more quickly than those to the clearing account market. Apart from that, the growth of investment in our republic is more than the average in the country and the positive fact is that investment is growing in forms which are beginning the very necessary process of structural changes in the direction of a modern economy which has the propensity for high accumulation.

In comparison with the other republics, allocations for general expenditure are increasing more slowly by 12 [word indistinct] points which is a consequence of a decisive course toward the unburdening of the economy's income. At the same time, in Serbia we have an index of the increase in living expenses that is lower than the country's average and the increase in retail prices has slackened off, which bears witness to the fact that we are contributing to bringing down inflation.

We must quickly transform the political mood for changes into changes themselves which will unambiguously show that the implementation of reform is on the agenda and not tactics of further hesitation and vacillation which have followed us since the adoption of the long-term program on economic stabilization.

Passing laws on enterprises will represent the (?heart) of the new system and therefore the basic provision of this law must be clear and understandable to everyone. This provision should allow for entrepreneurship, initiative, and self-organization instead of (?wasting) and restricting initiative, which is the main characteristic of the current laws on the economy.

The present front of resistance to reform which is quite concealed in the ideological and political sphere will also very quickly spread into the material sphere and even partly to the workers. Forces which resist reform and who will resist it even more toughly are quite strong, objectively speaking. They have engulfed all parts of our society, ranging from the dogmatic ideologists who cannot accept a market orientation and commodity production in socialism through numerous members of the administrative and bureaucratic strata who nowadays arbitrate in the process of reproduction and the most incompetent business structures who have not built their own position on the (?market) situation of their work organizations

but on cadre collusion with the administration and politicians, to those workers who care about their work places but not about the work.

As an ideological and political proponent of the reform, the LC must be capable in an ideological and organizational way of clearly viewing and interpreting the process of reform, as well as of helping and accelerating its realization. In doing so it must avoid becoming the practical implementer of the reform, that is, we must avoid making the important decisions instead of economic subjects doing so. We must be very patient with those people who fail to understand the essence of the reform solutions, but at the same time extremely resolute in dealing with those people who do not want to accept reforms and to act within the new rules of the game in the reform.

In all specific situations the LC must proceed from a principled position, and this position is in fact created by the necessity to differentiate work from idleness, economic behavior from wastefulness, entrepreneurship and initiative from indolence and the practice of waiting for solutions to be given from somewhere else, an aggressive way of coming to grips with problems from passive registration of phenomena and from socialization of losses. Above all, the LC extends decisive support for knowledge and for those people who offer solutions, readiness, and resoluteness to come to grips [words indistinct] with problems that are burdening their collective.

A suitable social policy and social protection must be introduced for the collectives that justifiably require more time and funds to adjust to new conditions. For it is not the goal of the reform to destroy people financially, but to enable everybody who is capable of working and who possesses corresponding knowledge and skill to join the production process in full capacity and with available capabilities. Therefore, the reform cannot be carried out without the accompanying social program that implies corresponding funds for the very reason of avoiding the possible grave consequences of eliminating workplaces which have become surplus because of technological reasons, of necessary retraining, and so on. The Commission for Reform of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia has issued a special document on this matter.

From now on and for a long time in the future, the LC will be waging a permanent ideological and political struggle for reform. There will be some opposition all the time, in various forms, and over a lengthy period and it is therefore very important that we understand that what is involved is not a conflict that is either won or lost at the moment when the economic reform is announced, but a long and continuous striving to destroy what is old and conservative and to create room for what is new and progressive.

Despite the difficulties presented above, it is with great optimism that we enter this battle for new and more efficient socioeconomic relations, for prosperity and a better economic future. We have many reasons to be optimistic. First, the road to the goal is very clear—there is no fog, no reason to go astray, nor are there any uncertainties about strategic direction or the necessary strategic change. What is involved is not an experiment, but joining the modern civilized currents, which clearly and unambiguously show that the contemporary progress is neither incidental nor made for individual areas of the world, but that it is a result of socioeconomic relations that are capable of and ready for carrying economic progress instead of only writing and talking about it. Second, neither Yugoslavia nor Serbia are in a position to be completely separated from better results of economic operations and social reproduction by the unsurmountable obstacle of lacking the factors of production. Though we are not overly rich, we are sufficiently rich with natural resources and with our economic development to date so that with more efficient and rational management we could live better.

Third, our unused internal reserves are huge, be it untilled land, capacities that are left unused, the sluggishness with which social capital is put to use—although acceleration of this process would include work as additional financial injections—young educated people who are unemployed, or people who are employed but who have not been using their potential physical and creative abilities. Therefore, there are objective and real material bases for creating more, dividing more resources, and for living better. The Serbian economy has many comparative advantages even if measured by European standards. Of course, there are some big developmental problems that have not been approached in a sufficiently precise way, because of insecurity that always exists about future trends, but many of them will be efficiently solved by broad initiatives of working people and other people involved in economic operations. The necessity of a development strategy and an economic policy adjusted to it thereby gains in importance.

We will mainly carry out the changes in Serbia's economic structure by establishing many new small and medium-size enterprises. Large investments are inevitable but some large factory built from its own resources often cannot efficiently function without contributing to the general development if the overall [words indistinct] is low. As a result of the development of authentic initiatives in the economy, the role of small-and medium-size investments will increase in establishing small-and medium-size enterprises. This development will complement the economy in many activities, improve its structure, make it sufficiently flexible, increase the rate of its turnover and employment, and thereby also the overall results and standards.

Fourth, our latest political history and especially the events during the past year clearly and unambiguously show that all people become mobilized by a policy if this

policy is really solving the most difficult problems. Such a policy is close to the hearts of people, is not incomprehensible, and is easily accepted. Therefore I am convinced that in the task upon which we are embarking we will not only enjoy the support and mandate from all citizens but will also assume a political obligation to carry out the economic reform as soon and as resolutely and consistently as possible. It is in this way alone that the LC can act in the implementation of reform within the broad front of all those forces which by their objective position and interests show that they want to and can contribute to opening up the road to our society's progress.

The economic reform that we face represents the first and decisive step in the overall social reform. Free economic activities will strengthen democratic forces in political life and on this basis it will then be possible to achieve a moral renewal of the society, a renewal that is so greatly needed. Significant changes will have to be carried within the process of reform in the entire large sphere of the so-called social activities, including education and upbringing, health and social policy, science, culture, information dissemination, and others. These changes must start with solving their material position, including their long-term material position, a position that especially recently has reached the state where it is blocking and completely jeopardizing the social and cultural development of society. There are no ideas or organizations in these spheres of social life which can save the public health, culture, or science if the appropriate material resources are not allotted for them.

Reform must ease the burden of the economy but it must also develop culture. This task must primarily be accomplished at the expense of bureaucracy in the economy and at the expense of bureaucracy in culture. The existence of bureaucracy in both of these spheres and its tendency to grow more and more are not only blocking the development of economy and culture but are also blocking the resources for their development by transferring them to the fictional activities of an endless number of sector chiefs, counselors, secretaries, organizers, working groups, self-managing communities, responsible commissions, and an unthinkable kaleidoscope of organs and individuals who organize those who produce, provide medical treatment, teach, create in science and arts, and thereby form an essentially new and, to be honest, a monstrous self-managing bureaucratic class. This bureaucratic class that has not come into being of its own will and cannot be blamed for its participation in fictional activities, must free the society from its presence but, of course, not at the expense of people who belong to it. The purpose of reform is to carry out a redistribution of social activities and social forces in a way that will ensure that every activity and every individual will be of benefit to and not to the detriment of society.

A more rapid economic and social development is unimaginable without the development of science and scientific research work. Science, that is, natural and

social sciences and fundamental and applied research must become a resource of development of our society not only in our orientation but also in our practice. Therefore, the LC strongly supports the social orientation to the development of fundamental and applied sciences without which a quicker development of production forces and of the competitive strength of our economy, especially on the world market, is not possible. The scientific research work in economic and applied sciences must make possible the development of production forces to the level where they will not only keep pace with developed industrial countries but will also approach the level of world development on the basis of scientific knowledge. As regards social sciences, their development in this stormy period of crisis must make possible a critical and simultaneously creative attitude toward social reality because it is not enough for science and human thought in general to only identify or assess the difficulties of the society but must also make a scientific contribution to eliminating them and especially to further successful economic and free cultural development.

The reform should also encompass radical changes in the education and upbringing system, ranging from the content to the organization and material position of these fields. As far as content is concerned, it must be brought in line with the technical, technological, and cultural development of Yugoslav society and the contemporary world, as well as with the fundamental social tenets of our revolution. This in fact means that the education system should primarily produce experts for work under the conditions of profound and permanent technical-technological changes, as well as experts for work in not just any society, but experts who would perform their professional activities in a socialist self-managing society, which is to say experts who, in the process of work, will also manage this work.

This is a complex educational-upbringing task which requires great efforts in terms of thinking and cadres. At the same time, this is a task which bears within itself the obligation to completely scrap the provincial need to shift as much information and data as possible onto every generation, particularly the youngest generation. By doing this, we would contribute to neither the general level of education or the professional level of the future working people, but would only cure an unfounded inferiority toward the world, which is not always ahead of us in everything.

Not only are we not lagging behind the world in many aspects of science and education, we are in fact equal and occasionally superior. Our experts and scientists in the fields of natural, exact sciences have a great reputation in the world. I am also convinced that we would not have been behind in the field of social sciences if critical thought about society had been more developed. We should therefore enrich our system of education and

upbringing with modern scientific and technical knowledge, as well as with knowledge about socialist self-managing society and its values and facts. All this knowledge would enable us to produce capable experts who would be well-educated and oriented toward self-management. However, at the same time the system of education and upbringing must be relieved of those ambitions and programs which often, particularly in primary and secondary school education, unnecessarily burdened the students and greatly contributed to the confusions in their heads and to the idea that school is more difficult than it was in the past and that, as such, less and less is needed, which is to say, that we need another type of school. The students fortunately share with the majority of their teachers this justifiable awareness that school needs to be changed. The only people they do not share it with are those in the bureaucracy in education and upbringing and those pursuing the policy whereby, isolated from the educational and upbringing cadres at all levels, they themselves were making decisions concerning education and upbringing.

Getting rid of bureaucracy in education and upbringing in the spiritual, organizational, and personal sense also represents a part of the reforms which we are trying to implement in this area. In the spiritual sense this means that matters of education and the policy on education and upbringing should, above all, be decided by those who are carrying out this type of work, by those who educate and train others. In the organizational sense, this means that we should get rid of the mediators between education and the working people. In the personal sense, this means that we should really reduce the administrative apparatus in education and upbringing to the necessary level.

Comrades, changes in the SFRY Constitution which will be made soon represent a significant step within the social reform. The views of the LC of Serbia are expressed in (?accepting) and advocating these changes in the political system and in the relations in the federation which will free our community from the domination of narrow common interests over broader ones and will considerably reduce the presence and influence of confederalist views and practice.

We have been advocating a modern and democratic federation founded on the basis of the equality of all peoples and nationalities and at the same time capable of making rational and efficient decisions on the issues of joint interest which are under its jurisdiction, as well as of ensuring legality and responsibility in implementing jointly adopted policy and regulations.

The changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia which are under way and which we are going to successfully complete soon are also exceptionally important for the stabilization of political relations in our republic and in Yugoslavia as well. The public debate throughout the republic—apart from these communities in Kosovo where there was no LC political activity so that separatist

forces have imposed their stances—was unanimous in the assessment that the present provisions of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia according to which it lacks even elementary joint functions and powers over its entire territory are untenable. Such provisions have led to large constitutional, legal, and political problems that have been expressed primarily in the inequality of working people and citizens, and peoples and nationalities in realizing their sovereign constitutional rights and freedoms.

The tragic situation and long-lasting activity of counter-revolutionary forces in Kosovo, mass occurrences of illegality, as well as the inequality of Serbs and Montenegrins, Muslims, Croats, and others before the law, and their emigration because of this and because of other pressures, and particularly because of threats to their personal security and their property have mostly been results of the very fact that the SR of Serbia has not been constituted as a state over its entire territory, that is, that the provinces have been (?built up) through the practice of encapsulation, division, and confrontation with Serbia.

The constitutional changes will not completely solve the Kosovo problem. They will ensure the republic's power in the well-known spheres, but that is only the first necessary step in establishing elementary legality and order. At the same time, huge amount of political work awaits us, as well as a huge amount of work in the spheres of education, training, information, and science within which one must fight against separatism and anti-Yugoslavism as an ideology that has overcome the consciousness of a large number of people, and young people in particular. Therefore, respective cadre changes are needed in all spheres of social life in Kosovo, and not only in politics. We shall carry out these changes in conformity with the struggle for a united Serbia and Yugoslavia which should be a political program and movement in Kosovo. The question of responsibility which cadre changes inevitably involve should not be made unclear. What I want to say is that responsibility for the present situation must be (?disentangled), but this should be done in the right way, that is that it must be put in conformity with the real order of things: Those people who are ideologues of the counterrevolution, and not those who are its barely adult participants, should be called to account and face sanctions. One must know who are trainers and teachers and who are trainees and students.

When we put things in their places then political and legal responsibility will be directed to those people who are really responsible and not toward their victims. Part of putting things in their places is that Albanian girls and boys, the victims of indoctrination, should be sent home to their fathers and mothers as soon as possible and that the real culprits for the genocidal terror that has been taking place in Kosovo should be put into prison instead.

It is really difficult to even understand how the ideologies of the counterrevolution and their self-respect could allow the youth to pay the bills of the people who lead them into counterrevolution.

Comrades. During the public discussion the working people and citizens have strongly and massively expressed their demands for achieving such a unity in the SR of Serbia which will reflect the numerous common interests of all people living in it. It has become clear that the creation of this unity in the republic does not threaten but strengthens and guarantees the equality of all peoples and nationalities and that it is not aimed at strengthening the republican centralism or at threatening those autonomous rights of the provinces because of which they exist as autonomous units within the SR of Serbia. Securing the basic and unified state functions of the republic throughout its entire territory represents an essential prerequisite and guarantee for the equality of all working people and citizens and for constitutionality and legality. After all, no state has ever existed or can exist without such unified basic state functions as national defense, state and public security, criminal legislation, justice, international cooperation, and others throughout its entire territory.

In conformity with the demands made in public discussion and the views of the 17th LCY Central Committee Session we will use these changes to put an end to the constitutionally and legally absurd and politically dangerous and untenable solutions and practices that have destabilized both Serbia and Yugoslavia. At the same time we have cleared from the ideopolitical sphere the untenable character of the concepts and behavior of many years which were based on the bureaucratic and separatist policies of some provincial leaderships and leaders, on the encapsulation of the socialist autonomous provinces in relation to Serbia whose part they are, on a persistent insistence on the statehood and not on the autonomous character of provinces, on making provinces equal to the republic, and on a tripartite state partnership within the framework of Serbia in which Serbia simply has not functioned as a republic. For instance, although it has the status of a state, Serbia has not been able nor is it able now to adopt or change its Constitution unless the assemblies of its parts, the socialist autonomous provinces that do not have the status of states, agree beforehand with everything. All these and many other absurd solutions were sharply criticized in public discussion and general resolute demands were made for changes that will make the SR of Serbia equal to other republics as regards the basic state functions.

Thus, as we have seen, there has been nothing in this connection which could be called a demand for some kind of a greater Serbia, a threat to the position of the economy, a threat to the rights of peoples and nationalities, or a threat to incomes, something that has been advanced by certain leaderships in recent months

together with various other forms of pressure and disqualification in order to block and compromise the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia.

The value of constitutional changes is not exhausted by bare normative solutions. Their social significance and long-term effect has been decisively determined by the general political climate in society and by the attitude of the political forces that have influenced to the greatest extent the substance, character, and realization of these changes. These constitutional changes are made under the pressure from progressive forces in the interest of development of democratic relations in the society. We can confidently state that, regardless of their modest nature, the basic criteria and direction of changes have been determined by the views and demands of the working people and citizens. At thousands of gatherings within public discussion and at scores of meetings in which several million people participated, the working people and citizens expressed their main political demands for strengthening the socialist self-managing character and unity of Yugoslavia as a federal community of equal peoples and nationalities, for implementing the fundamental political and economic reforms and democratization of society, for strengthening the unity in the SR of Serbia, for energetically condemning the counterrevolution in Kosovo, and for determining the personal responsibility of those who by their actions or idleness contributed to disintegrating, dividing, and impoverishing us as a society.

The democratic character and the great long-term contribution of these mass and resolute demands made by the working people and citizens will demonstrate their real presence, although they are already obvious and significant. Their significance lies primarily in the fact that they are a broad and true democratic initiative of the broadest workers' and progressive forces and extremely antibureaucratic—that is, revolutionary in terms of their character and contribution. Now we must use this huge democratic and creative energy in the interest of progress. Therefore, the LC is now facing the political responsibility to make itself ready to realize a role in the political system such as will enable the democratic expression of all progressive ideas and interests, above all within the SAWP, the trade unions, and other political organizations of the self-managing and assembly system for their democratic synthesis and the constant public control of the implementation of established policy.

The essence of the forthcoming reform of the LC is that Communists should act among the class and the people, and not in forums and committees in which they express confidence in each one another. One says that the party is too strong, that it influences even the specific political decision, but on the other hand we can see that for years it has been unable to realize hardly anything that it had decided upon. Where, then, is this power and influence manifested when it cannot realize even its own decisions? I think that what is involved is not that the LC has

grown into the state apparatus, which cannot be said for the entire organization at all, but that it has been pushed aside to the periphery of real social processes. It has been brought to that periphery by the collusion between individuals in the top party leaderships and the state apparatus, and the apparatus in the self-managing interest communities, banks, and other places of state decisionmaking. Bureaucratized sections of leaderships have alienated themselves from the people and from their own grassroots which, together with the formalization of the mechanism of decisionmaking, has brought about the atrophy and powerlessness of institutions and even entire political organizations, including the LC and the SAWP.

The bureaucrats' response to the strong demands of the LC members and the people, particularly in connection with establishing unity and responsibility, is craftiness, [word indistinct], and political games, readiness for concessions, alliances, coalitions, and changing partners. It therefore happens that the greatest opponents of changes, commodity production, and the unified market, and advocates of consensus economy and national economies today come out as champions of reform. By making such a declaration, they will certainly work on prolonging, minimizing, and even blocking changes, just as they have been doing to date. However, this chameleon-like behavior has sounded its last note, because our ordinary man, who was until today a peaceful citizen, ready to take part in ritual debates, to tolerate things, to believe people's words, and to respect the authority of the state and organization, has now become a man who will take his destiny and the destiny of his country into his own hands.

Many political and state officials lived with illusions about their personal authority without realizing that they are in fact living off the authority of the organization and the revolution, and today one can have authority only on the basis of work.

Therefore, what is involved is not a new form of party monopoly, but rather the democratization of the whole of society, which is the only thing capable of releasing the people's creative initiative. In the preparations for the LC reform, bureaucratic forces will try to gain the initiative. They will offer, and they have already been offering, their concept of the LC reform. They are preparing themselves to present the thesis on some special interests of the working class, to usurp the workers class on behalf of the party, to proclaim the interests of the people and all working people and citizens and their mass appearance on the political scene as populism, as if the workers class were in confrontation with the people, as if it were not our most (?sacred) aim to work in the interest of the entire people, and to fight in the interest of the entire people and all people and citizens, irrespective of their nationality or profession, against exploitation and for economic, cultural, and any other kind of equality.

The success of the economic and social reform on the whole depends on the reform of the LC. Therefore, one can say that the LC reform paves the way for and represents a basis for all other changes in society. And really, the vanguard of the workers class as a class in power—that is, the vanguard of society in general—must first carry out a reform of itself in order to also remain a vanguard in a changed, reformed society.

The character of changes which should take place in the LC as a political organization are the most [word indistinct] part of the reform that lies before us. These are talked about a lot. I would now say that there exists a confusing and unfinished dialogue, as a result of which members of the LC find it unclear what the leadership intends to offer as changes in its organizations so that the members themselves discover that changes are far-reaching, necessary, and essential.

All changes in our society, and therefore in the LC, come about under the influence exerted upon them by citizens and Communists. If the leaderships themselves had been willing and able to carry out these changes, they would have done so a long time ago. The public has taken the initiative, and this initiative is directed in a critical, creative, and in any case, democratic direction. In a specific case, therefore, when this involves the LC, changes must encompass its entirety, from the program to the organization.

As far as the program is concerned, it must be compatible with changes in modern Yugoslav society and a modern world. This compatibility will not bring into question our fundamental orientations of, for example, a society without exploitation and classes, social ownership as the dominant form of ownership over the means of production, the equality of peoples and nationalities, and an independent foreign policy. Although the LC, like every political organization, must be made up of people who support the same ideology and policy, nobody should be excluded from social and political life for not being a member of the LC, and their chance to contribute to the development of society should not in any way be reduced or hindered.

In the present social situation, the LC must have above all a clear and constructive stand concerning a solution to the crisis and the further development of society. Our aim is not only to find a way out of the crisis—that is, any way out—but a way out which will be played out within the framework of socialist self-management as the basis for the production of social relations, and within the framework of Yugoslavia as a state of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities.

The LC must have a program for finding a way out of the crisis and for further development on these bases. It must facilitate its implementation through other organizations and social institutions in view of the fact that it will be responsible for this implementation itself.

It is almost too much to stress nowadays, after several decades, that the LC should liberate itself from its operative power in other organizations and institutions of society. The LC should not organize [word indistinct] of production, education in schools, treatment in hospitals, the care of parks, the liquidity of banks and so on, but it should determine its activity and organize it in such a way as to integrate the interests of the workers class, from work organizations to the federation and in all areas of social life, and fight for these interests as the oldest interests in society.

Such a transformation of the LC is not an easy job, but it is essential in conditions in which it must transform itself into a modern organization which will also remain based on the basic orientations of our view of the world.

Our society began with the desire to be democratic. At the very beginning, this desire could not be fulfilled because the already well-known reasons for the necessity of having a strong state in the initial period of socialism. However, a strong state which existed in the first period of socialism survived during all the subsequent periods so that an originally justified strong state was transformed slowly but surely into unjustified, numerous bureaucrats who have obstructed economic and cultural development.

Nowadays, this bureaucracy is an obstacle to development in all areas of society, as well as a factor of the crisis. Its efforts to preserve itself have stopped every mechanism which was available to society for finding a resolution to the crisis, for a revival, and for progress. In this sense, one can talk about an antibureaucratic revolution and a democratic transformation of society not only as an orientation, but as an essential measure taken for society's survival.

We have been the first and, so far, the only ones in the world to opt for a socialist self-managing society. Our difficulties also stem from the fact that we have been deprived of other people's experience in the construction of our society. However, this fact does not protect us from the danger to which we will be subjected if we do not stop the long-lasting and deeply-felt presence of bureaucracy in society.

The paralysis of society caused by the bureaucracy brings with it the danger that we will not be able to eliminate this paralysis through democratic means if we do not immediately get rid of bureaucracy. Vojvodina is an example of how this step was taken at the last minute, how increased democratic forces of society stopped and broke the bureaucratic pretentious circle which had the tendency to strongly concentrate economic, political, and every other power in an increasingly narrow group of individuals.

The beginning of these major antibureaucratic moves was played out at the 8th session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. A battle against the political nonimplementation of agreed-upon decisions took place there by means of establishing responsibility and openness in political work, but on the whole through the policy of breaking links between the leadership and the grassroots, regardless of whether this concerned the LC or society in general.

This wave of democracy which overtook Serbia can only be a hindrance in places untouched by such a wave. The certainty of its nearness disturbs and angers those who will be swept away when it comes. This type of resistance accompanies all great changes in society, and those who implement changes must openly and resolutely face this in cold blood. Such are the rules of the game of every great struggle in society. These are the laws of great and small revolutionary changes.

The aim of our changes is the reform which we should implement. This reform concerns not only an improvement of material and cultural life, but also the establishment of more just and humane relations among people. The aim of the reform is to have socialist self-management, as a materially and culturally developed society and a more humane society as a whole should have.

We who have demonstrated to the entire socialist and nonsocialist world that self-managing socialism is the most progressive society, have the obligation to the world either to show and prove this or to not admit that we have made a mistake. [sentence as heard] However, this would not be sensible or necessary, and we do not even have the right to do it. The fate of socialist self-management really is in our hands, and we only need to join them. Thank you for your attention.

Participants Discuss Tasks

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[Excerpts] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, opened the Serbian LC Conference at 0900 today in the Sava Center in Belgrade. The 789 delegates will discuss the tasks facing the Serbian LC in implementing the economic and social reform during the 3-day meeting.

Opening the conference, Slobodan Milosevic welcomed Nikola Ljubovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, and Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who are attending the meeting on behalf of the LCY Central Committee. He also welcomed representatives of the republican and provincial LC Committees to the Serbian LC Conference.

At the beginning of the conference proceedings, delegates elected the working presidium. Radmila Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium was elected chairman of the first session. A three-member delegation was elected to lay a wreath at the grave of Comrade Tito.

After adopting the agenda, delegates adopted the operating procedure of the conference, and elected its working bodies—the working group preparing conference stances, which is chaired by Jurij Bajec, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee, Presidium, the commission verifying the authorization of delegates, and the commission dealing with complaints sent to the conference. [passage omitted]

Before the discussion began, Verification Commission member Zoran Janackovic informed those present that 748 out of 798 elected delegates are participating in the work of the Serbian LC Conference today, which is more than the necessary two-thirds. According to the statute, this means that the conference can validly establish proposals and adopt positions. One delegate represents 1,600 Serbian LC members. There are 574 delegates representing associated labor, 191 representing social activities, and 66 representing students and pupils.

The first participant in the discussion, Novica Pesko from Backa Palanka, noted that regardless of the agenda, which envisages discussion on tasks facing the Serbian LC in implementing the economic and social reform, other current key problems cannot be avoided. He mentioned the undefined constitutional status of the SR of Serbia, and also the unresolved counterrevolution in Kosovo, to which, he says, the former Vojvodina leadership contributed.

We have failed the test of efficiency and effectiveness in conducting business, Stipe Lovreta stressed. We did not succeed in developing self-management, and destructive processes are present in almost all areas of economy and society. It is a great political blindness not to see that solutions in the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor led directly to the inefficiency of an all-encompassing red tape. The science of economics is put at the service of administrative and arbitrary policy. It is incomprehensible that even in the LC itself, forces are operating from positions of dogmatism and group interest. These forces contributed to the fact that the counterrevolution in Kosovo is regarded as a Yugoslav problem after only 8 years. Those forces are reconciling themselves only with difficulty to the urgent reintegration of the Socialist Republic of Serbia within its entire territory. These forces are reconciling themselves with difficulty to the urgent economic and social reform and the reintegration of the whole country on democratic foundations. However, the ideological and political offensive of the LC is obviously yielding results.

He also advocated the development of the market economy, and a return to the economy, to the laws of the economy, and the full independence of enterprises.

The LC's duty is to encourage strategic moves, to see further ahead, to mobilize its million-strong membership, to always pull ahead. The LC has not lost the trust of the people, but some individuals have lost it and they seem to believe less in a way out of the crisis than the workers, Ljubisa Igic stressed. [passage omitted]

Igic also dealt with the situation in Kosovo. He assessed the recent events as an attempt to continue the old policy which had represented an attack on Yugoslavia. A section of the Kosovo LC leadership also makes the continuation of such a policy possible and in so doing, it has entered into an alliance with nationalistic elements, Igic said.

Jelena Stanic pointed out that it was necessary to increase the responsibility of communists for the situation in their regions, for there can be no more important criterion of the work of LC members than doing good business. They can not act merely as observers, Jelena Stanic said.

Prompted by foreign press reports on the Belgrade meeting of brotherhood and unity, she stressed that foreigners seemed to make a better assessment of the events in Yugoslavia than some of our officials, such as Joze Smole and Janez Stanovnik.

Miroslav Miskovic said that "state" inflation, which is reflected above all in interest rates and rates of exchange, along with unreliable regulations and the absence of long-term conditions of economic activity, had a very unfavorable effect on investments and on the development. [passage omitted]

Mihajlo Svabic praised the reports and the material for the conference but he issued a sound warning that the material dealt in a negative context with the right to work, in the sense that those who performed poorly could lose their right to work. This right cannot, however, be lost because it is a general right; only employment can be lost. [passage omitted]

The attitude to the village and the peasants as the "toughest section of the people which has emerged in recent months" should be more fully defined in the conference document, Desimir Jevtic stressed. He also pointed out the fact that the agricultural problems were close to the critical point. This is also shown by the information, according to Jevtic, that one-third of the villages in the republic are currently dying out. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the complete affirmation of members of the Bulgarian nationality in border municipalities between Bulgaria and Serbia, Ivan Vasilev stated on their behalf that they were particularly surprised about

the resistance displayed by Albanians in Kosovo to constitutional solutions for the uniform use of the official language. He advocated greater privileges for work organizations which were investing in insufficiently developed border areas regarding the use of bank resources and the fund for the development of these areas. [passage omitted]

Milislav Nikic, speaking about LC tasks in the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, added that clearer orientation about these tasks should be expressed at this conference. Nikic especially pointed out the importance of the All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection in the constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia. Regarding irresponsible attacks on the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army], he said that it cannot be said that they have ceased. On the contrary, Nikic stressed, attacks have strengthened and become perfidious; this demands intensified activity by the LC.

The crisis in Yugoslavia has opened the question of unity and disunity; has brought assaults on democratic relations and different views on phenomena of our development; has provoked an absence of tolerance and respect and lowered the level of the culture of the political dialogue, Vasil Tupurkovski told the Serbian LC Conference.

These phenomena are not only harmful in themselves, but they also directly influence society's opportunities for solving this crisis. For communists, Tupurkovski added, it is especially incomprehensible how low respect for one another has sunk and how low critical and self-critical analyses of what is or what is not done have fallen.

He continued, saying that the LC cannot be left to haphazardness, hence its orientation to three reforms and mobilizing policy. The economic reform in its completeness creates a chance for us to build a new structure of the Yugoslav Economy, whose characteristics will become modernity and rationality based on good scientific and technological grounding.

Having spoken at length about the present constitutional changes in the SFRY republics and provinces, Tupurkovski stressed that the way to abandon the obsolete one-party system is not through disunity, an insistence on one's truth being absolute, subtle party diplomacy, forming a line-up of forces, confrontations between leaderships, leaving outstanding issues unresolved, or questioning the strategic orientation on national equality. Albanian nationalism and separatism attack human rights and the freedom of citizens, and want to call into question Yugoslavia's integrity and international position. No one has the right to permit this.

Having pointed out that the implementation of the tasks of the 9th, 16th and 17th LCY Central Committee sessions was the foremost task of Kosovo communists and their leaderships, Vasil Tupurkovski went on to note

that the recent events in Kosovo had dramatically intensified the issue of accepting and implementing these tasks. They are also making the question of the responsibility of the majority nation to combat nationalism and enmity, and to guarantee all the rights of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, acutely topical.

We must respect the Albanian. We must scrupulously respect and guard the national rights of the Albanian nationality, because this is the condition for the survival of all of us in our country, as well as of our policy. But we must be categorical and uncompromising in curbing Albanian nationalism and separatism, which has carried out a profound indoctrination, and which is beginning to erode the political identity of the LC itself. Does anyone really believe that the LC could remain on the political scene if we become divided on the basis of nationality, if the young isolate themselves, if the nations and nationalities do not communicate among themselves and do not mix with one another? We must not allow anyone to divide our young generation, or teach it the language of dissent and hatred.

In this context, Tupurkovski said that the LC must concern itself with the escalation of nationalism throughout the country. Nationalism is introducing into our relations primitivism and base passions on a large scale, is pushing us onto the margin of historical world trends, is attacking the freedom of creative activity, the integrity of entire nations and nationalities, and the humanist nature of scientific and artistic work.

We as communists should be ashamed of our inefficiency to reduce the space given to nationalistic activity, Tupurkovski went on. In the LC we cannot build our attitude to this destabilizing evil on opportunism or by flirting with nationalism, but through a visionary view of the world around us. Peoples are neither nationalistic nor chauvinistic. The LCY, the republican and provincial organizations and communists in their own environments and among their own peoples must, together with progressive forces, rout nationalism in Yugoslavia, as well as their own kind of nationalism. You, Serbian communists, and the Serbian LC, too, bear a great responsibility to eradicate Serbian nationalism in the best tradition of great Serbian creators and humanists.

We must not allow ourselves to march into the 21st century threatened by nationalism and chauvinism, Tupurkovski said at the end of his speech. We must march toward the next century on the basis of political emancipation, a modern economy, cultural renaissance, the unconditional equality of our nations and nationalities and their interdependence in life, as well as our society's permanent orientation toward communication with the European and international communities, he said in conclusion.

The most responsible people in Kosovo have, for 20 years, already been poisoning the young generations through the educational system, by instilling in them the

primitive desire to respect only their own nationality, accompanied by the tradition of tribal community and Leka Djukadjini's laws. They have succeeded in creating masses of people suitable for manipulation, Irfan Hasanovic said. What concerns me is the blatant anti-Yugoslavism because rape, desecration of graves, physical pressures, and expulsion of Serbs and Montenegrins from their century-old hearth are nothing other than anti-Yugoslavism. The failure in the educational process has led us to the edge of the abyss where the question openly asked is: Can we continue to live together? Do my contemporaries in Kosovo and Metohija want this or not? Do they understand that this blind fanaticism leads to the one-way street of lack of freedom, of no prospects for the future. The Albanian separatists and nationalists must be stopped through every available means. Peace and order are the preconditions for the solution of the political crisis in Kosovo, Hasanovic stressed.

Vukasin Trifundza proposed that every communist in every basic LC organization should declare himself in favor of accepting the obligations of the reform, and that basic organizations, too, should give their view about LC members whose moral image had been tarnished.

In Tomislav Sekulic's view, it is difficult to speak of any kind of reform as long as the topical problems in Kosovo have not been resolved. Anti-Serbian demonstrations, concocted in those very same "kitchens" which had been active in 1968 and 1981, are in progress in the province. Their basic aim is to prevent any kind of changes, through fanatical hatred and attacks; they are doing all this under the guise of demonstrations with a Yugoslav character. Sekulic stressed.

In his view, Kosovo is primarily Serbia's problem because people are emigrating to Serbia and not to Slovenia. Serbia is setting aside large sums of money for the development of the province and thus we have a truly strange situation: Money goes to Kosovo and people are leaving Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Milorad Unkovic stressed that many protests in front of the SFRY Assembly were brought about by the question why the workers, after living so many years under socialism, were unable to provide their families with conditions for a normal life. The standard of living is at the bottom of all social reforms. The impoverishment of the working class, unbearable inflation, and mass unemployment have been going on for some time already. Major changes cannot be carried out in a short period of time, but it is clear that a higher standard of living for the working people can be achieved only by increasing their income and by paying higher salaries to creative individuals and experts, Unkovic pointed out.

Taking part in the discussion, Petar Gracanin stressed that it had become clear that the reform was not easy to implement and that resistance to the efforts to enhance the unity and togetherness in Serbia was strong. In the last few days this resistance has manifested itself in the

form of demonstrations in Kosovo against both the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and against the changes in society as a whole including the cadre renewal initiated by the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Attempts are being made to disguise this resistance in various ways, even by invoking the symbols of the revolution. These two simply do not go together. As the reform signifies the continuation of the revolution, resistance to the changes and to the reform is essentially counterrevolution, Gracanin stressed.

Therefore, much more effort will be needed on the part of all the nations and nationalities in the SR of Serbia and especially of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others in Kosovo to complete the work on the reform. Gracanin said that the current revision of the Constitution would not provide satisfactory scope for necessary changes and that work should therefore be started on preparing new constitutions. Some will say that we are calling for further constitutional changes, although the present ones have not yet been enforced. It is not just a question of impatience but of an urgent need to carry out comprehensive social reforms, he explained.

Gracanin spoke in favor of a more efficient system of power, stressing that by this he in no way implied a repressive system of power, since an increase in the system's efficiency must not be at the expense of people's democratic rights and freedom. Gracanin also drew attention to the need, in the course of work on the coming constitutional changes, for reexamining the concept of municipality and inter municipal regional community. The aim here is to make their organization more efficient and less costly.

Social reforms, which in the period ahead must be our priority task, must secure conditions conducive to enhancing the country's unity, while at the same time taking into consideration the specific features of our individual nations and nationalities. These conditions must also be conducive to strengthening the country's economic potentials and opening up prospects for its development.

Speaking about the system of elections and cadre policy, Gracanin stressed that demands for the widespread practice of direct elections and for multiple candidate lists were being met with resistance. It is even more difficult, Gracanin said, to fully implement the principle of carrying out nominations and elections as a part of the democratic process.

It is no longer enough to part company with those who are retiring but also with those who had, for 15 years, loyally followed and ardently served the policy pursued by Fadilj Hodza, Veli Deva, and Mahmut Bakali and who are today presenting themselves as fighters against Albanian nationalism and separatism, Nebojsa Vukmirovic said and went on to add that such people were protecting themselves with the slogan "Let us protect the cadres" and thus concealing their chameleon-like nature.

They were needed only by those on the other side of the barricades. It is due to them and to the slogan about protecting the cadres that the 17th session and the LCY Central Committee are being acclaimed in Kosovo now, while at the same time the demand is voiced that the decisions of that session should not be implemented.

Could the anemic, inert, and unsound economy callously crippled and exploited by the state, "suddenly become viable" through the proclamation of economic reform, Vlakovic asked. He also sounded a warning that no spectacular results should be expected right away and even less the solution of economic problems through the introduction of various forms of ownership because, according to him, we still do not have enough knowledge, capital, experience, or conditions for the operation of social or private small businesses. It is both necessary and indispensable that the LC reassert itself, Stevan Roglic said and noted that we have broken up the state and created eight autonomous expensive yet poor small states. The powers-to-be have turned Serbia into a third-class state and into a stepchild of Yugoslavia.

Commenting on the situation in Kosovo, Roglic said that counterrevolutionaries could not be restrained with honeyed slogans. The mass arrivals in Pristina, he added have clearly shown that separatists and nationalists will not easily abandon their goal. It is clear, Roglic stressed, that these latest actions in the province have been well planned and organized. [passage omitted]

In the present very complex, aggravated political situation in Serbia, the aim in Kosovo should be to clarify the outstanding issue of the constitutional position of the province and to stress that Serbia should be assured of the necessary measure of uniform functions, Cazim Ademi said. This would make it possible for the SR of Serbia to become a federal unit with equal rights while at the same time, the constitutional position of the provinces as constituent elements of federalism would not be negated. [passage omitted]

Aleksandar Mitrovic, who devoted most of his speech to economic problems, stressed that small business represented a great opportunity for resolving the crisis. He also dealt with the existing situation in Kosovo. In his words, the latest demonstrations were yet another public advertising of the continuity of the counterrevolution. They have been subtly prepared, organized, worked out in great detail, right down to the departure timetable. Somebody is, behind the backs of the legitimate leadership in the country, in the republic, and in the province, perfidiously calling the tune and controlling the situation in the province. What is at stake here is neither the rallying of citizens nor protests about certain unresolved issues, but demonstrations against cadre changes and resignations by those who divide us and who are against constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia, Mitrovic stressed. [passage omitted]

Mitrovic stressed that there must be no retreating in the face of any kind of nationalism. It could not be that strong that we could not oppose it, in particular there could be no retreating from the fact of nationalism of such a separatist character. We must overcome the counterrevolution in Kosovo with every measure and every means available and as soon as possible. We must use both political and repressive measures. This will be done in a way which need never surprise anyone. I think that we will succeed this time not only in preventing but also in exposing those who are organizing this, Mitrovic stressed.

Anka Cvijanovic pointed out that only people in Yugoslavia who do not know about the tragedy of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are the ones who do not want to know. It is sad indeed that certain environments have looked with obvious lack of understanding at the protest gatherings by Serbs and Montenegrins, for whom this was the only way to draw the public's attention to their plight and to the misdeeds committed by the Albanian nationalists. Although for some time one could have assumed that the lack of understanding was due to the Kosovo leadership's attitude toward the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins, recent days have demonstrated—and Stanovnik seconded this with his statement—that bigger issues are at stake—issues which have for a long time made the Serbs and Montenegrins feel helpless.

The SR of Serbia's attitude toward Kosovo and the orientation about the most important thing for Serbia being the establishment of peace and order in Kosovo represents for Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins first and foremost a hope that they will never again be sacrificed on behalf of small-minded compromises or to forces of unprincipled coalition, Anka Cvijanovic stressed. [passage omitted]

Anka Cvijanovic was the last speaker in today's debate.

The conference continues tomorrow morning.

1st Day of Conference Concludes

LD2111212988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2006 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The 1st day of work at the 3-day Serbian LC conference, which was convened to establish Communists' tasks in economic and social reform, ended slightly before 2100.

In the debate on the proposed final conference document and the report submitted this morning by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, 36 delegates took part. Over 100 delegates are expected to address the conference over the next 2 days.

Session Resumes 22 Nov

*LD2211095388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0741 GMT 22 Nov 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—About 750 delegates at the Serbian LC conference continued their discussion this morning on the tasks of Communists in implementing economic and social reform.

The basis for the discussion is the proposed stands of the conference, which the delegates are due to adopt tomorrow, at the end of the 3-day meeting, as well as the detailed report on this theme submitted yesterday by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

A total of 36 delegates spoke yesterday at the conference, and approximately another 100 have asked to speak in the discussion.

'Polemics' on Pristina Protests

*AU2211094088 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 22 Nov 88*

[Text] The Serbian LC conference is continuing in the Sava Center in Belgrade. Here is a report from Kosta Krajincanic:

[Krajincanic] The 2d day of the work of the conference began at 0830. The number of listed speakers is large, for as many as 154 delegates and guests have expressed the desire to speak about the tasks of Communists in implementing economic and social reform, which is the main and only theme of the conference.

Dragutin Martinic, Aleksandar Bakocevic, Slobodan Unkovic, Zlatica Ivkovic, Slavko Popovic, and Miodrag Koprivica have spoken since this morning. Radivoje Zunic, agricultural producer from Pozega, is currently on the rostrum.

Short but vehement moment of polemics arose at one point. A delegate of Albanian nationality from Kosovo, who did not introduce himself, protested that political assessments about the latest events in Pristina and some other places in Kosovo were made at the conference in a negative context. This was followed by the reply from a Serbian delegate that things must be called by their real name and therefore these events in Kosovo are demonstrations and come from the same positions as those of 1981.

So, respected listeners, this is all so far from the Sava Center. Our next report will be in about (?30) minutes.

Tomic Addresses Belgrade Brotherhood Rally

*AU2211094888 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1103 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Opening speech by Dragan Tomic, president of the Presidium of the City Conference of the Belgrade SAWP, at the brotherhood and unity meeting in Belgrade on 19 November—live]

[Text] Citizens of Belgrade, workers, students, pupils, comrade veterans, national heroes, dear friends, guests to the freedom-loving city of Belgrade, citizens of Yugoslavia!

On behalf of the City Conference of the Belgrade SAWP, I greet you most cordially, in the way this city has traditionally done so:

Welcome [cheers] to this magnificent gathering of 1.3 million citizens of Belgrade and Yugoslavia. [cheers of: Yugoslavia!]

As on the many occasions before, [cheers of: Yugoslavia!] at the crucial moments [cheers of: Yugoslavia!] of our joint destiny, [frantic cheers of: Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia!] our Yugoslav history and the history of the Serbian nation, Belgrade is at this moment Yugoslavia's open heart.

The Serbian and Yugoslav Belgrade is here today to openly and courageously speak once again with the words of resoluteness and true and unquenchable hope about the time in which we live, about freedom, suffering, the homeland, brotherhood and unity, its present time, and the future of its children in Yugoslavia en masse and in a united way in its streets and at the confluence of its rivers.

Today, Belgrade is addressing Serbia, Yugoslavia and all the world. [chanting]

We know that the people's silence has always been a warning to those who govern. The Serbian people have been silent for a long time, and many people have not understood this warning. [chanting] The people have now spoken, but many people do not understand what they have said. [chants of: Long live Serbia!] Dear friends of truth and justice, there is much deliberate incomprehension and deliberate misunderstanding, but we do not have much time to explain that what has been proven on so many occasions is the truth. Must people, who have invested so much in freedom for centuries, still look at their dissipated homes? How many times do we have to fight for Kosovo? [cheers]

Neither Serbian, or Montenegrin, or any other people must be moved and persecuted any longer. This must be the time for general progress. It is high time for those steps to be taken that will lead us out of the great social, moral, economic, and political crises. If we do not take these steps today, we will be inevitably and inexorably

punished by history tomorrow. The future lies in the people and nations who have not lost their past and rejected their present. We as citizens, workers, veterans, and youth are ready to go into crucial battle for decisive changes. [chants of: That is right!]

Today, we say this to all Yugoslavia and the whole world with an open heart. We say this in a pledge to Serbia and the Serbian people, and all the peoples and nationalities with which we live together, in a pledge to the workers class, which has been building this pretty city for centuries. We are proud of Belgrade, the city which has been a light of Yugoslavianism for decades, a city in which brotherhood and unity has been forged. This is why people from all over the country have flowed to this meeting in Belgrade, just like the two rivers are flowing here at the confluence. This is why we are united in our hope that we will move forward from this place with a strong and unstoppable flow. I now invite Rados Smiljkovic, president of the Belgrade LC City Committee Presidium and member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, to speak.

Imprisonment Date for Jansa, Others Postponed
LD2111192788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1541 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The leaders of the departments of the basic courts in Ljubljana, Kranj, and Tolmin have decided to temporarily delay the beginning of the prison terms to be served by Jansa, Zavrl, and Tasic. As is stressed in a statement by the Republican Secretariat for the Judiciary of the SR of Slovenia, the decision on postponing the serving of the sentences handed down by the Ljubljana Military Court was based on paragraph 3 of Article 38 of the Law on the Implementation of Criminal Sanctions.

"The decision is of a purely procedural nature and is valid until the sentence comes into effect. It does not affect the possibility of the guilty parties serving their sentences, if they themselves decide to do this," says the statement issued through the Republican Committee for Information of the SR of Slovenia.

The proposal was made by Igor Bavcar, on behalf of the Ljubljana Committee for the Protection of Human Rights. The proposal to delay the implementation of the effective date of the military court's sentence was presented to the basic court in Ljubljana, the basic court department in Ljubljana, and the basic courts in Kranj and Tolmin.

Jansa Addresses Ljubljana Protest Meeting
LD2111191288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1744 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Several thousand people attended a meeting held this evening in Revolution Square in Ljubljana in exceptionally bad weather, to

mark respect for human rights, the sovereignty of the SR of Slovenia, and support for the four people sentenced in the Ljubljana Military Court trial.

The participants at the gathering called for the holding of a referendum in Slovenia on the amendments to the SFRY Constitution. Speakers at the rally were: Igor Bavcar, on behalf of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights; Gorazd Dervensek, on behalf of the Ljubljana University organization of socialist youth; Rudi Seligo, on behalf of the Slovene Writers Society; Alojz Krizman, the rector of Maribor University; Ivan Oman, on behalf of the Slovene Peasant Union; Janesz Jansa, one of the four sentenced; and Neven Kovacic, president of the Zagreb peace and ecology group Svarun.

Igor Bavcar said that the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights has grown in 6 months into a democratic political institution numbering 100,000 people in Slovenia, Slovenes from neighboring countries, and people from Yugoslavia and abroad, from all generations and of every persuasion, who are united in the defense of the freedom of each and every one of us. In addition to this, said Bavcar, we have something which the old policy has not had for a long time—if indeed it ever had it—which is answers to the questions of a future without hatred and without sectarianism.

At the start of his speech and throughout it, Janesz Jansa received stormy applause. He stressed, among other things, that justice would be done only when those who had instigated the trial of the four before the Ljubljana Military Court were themselves put on trial.

Further on Speakers at Protest
LD2111224688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—Many thousands of people gathered this evening in Ljubljana's central square as a sign of their support "for the requests to respect human rights, a referendum On the constitution, and the sovereignty of the SR of Slovenia."

The gathering was organized by the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, the University Conference of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation, and the Slovene Writers Society.

Igor Bavcar, a member of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, spoke first to the gathering, and he did so mainly about the trial of the four before the Ljubljana Military Court. He was interrupted several times by applause and whistling. Right at the beginning of his speech, Igor Bavcar cited a group of Slovene Assembly delegates and said that some of the military commands, No 5033-4, are illegal and that they are contrary to the principles of the state's rule of law and the spirit of our society. In his words, the trial of Jansa, Zavrl, Borstner, and Tasic is part of a political game

against freedom, the birth of new policy, modern enterprise mentality, and national and state sovereignty. As long as they are not free, society also is not free.

Recalling the statement by Tomaz Ertl, republican secretary for internal affairs, according to which "the public will never know what is in the disputed document," Bavcar said that 4 months afterwards everything of significance about this document is known, stressing that this is the good work not of official policy but of the public gathered around the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights. To put it most succinctly, Bavcar says, things are happening which until recently in this state could not have been imagined, thus engendering the hope that the time is not far off when the public will be able to supervise and influence the authorities and when the powers that be will not be synonymous with arbitrariness, but rather a guarantee of society's freedom.

The Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, in Bavcar's words, has matured into "a democratic political institution bringing together 100,000 people in Slovenia, Yugoslavia, Slovenes in neighboring countries and the world." "Our goal is clear, and our activity public," Bavcar says, stressing that only brute force can be set against them but that they cannot be destroyed. There are too many of us, and we are from all generations and of differing convictions. We are united in defending the freedom of each one of us and of all together.

Apart from this, Bacvar says, we have something which the old Bolshevik policies have long since lost, and the question is whether they ever had it—we have an answer to questions about the future, answers devoid of hostility and sectarianism among people.

Concluding, Bacvar referred to the postponement of the beginning of the four's prison sentences and stated that this is only the first step and that the next one is a pardon. However, this is not the end; our goal is a free society, and we will strive toward this in the future, too, Bacvar says.

Greeted by thunderous ovations and interrupted on several occasions by shouts of "Janez, Janez," Janez Jansa spoke to the gathering. Advocating a referendum on the constitutional amendments, Jansa said that the claim that the constitutional changes should be adopted because of their allegedly progressive economic solutions is political ammunition without a historical or scientific basis. If someone believes that they should be adopted because of the configuration of forces in Yugoslavia, then let them say this openly, Jansa stated.

As for the sovereignty of the SR of Slovenia, Jansa stressed that the authorities which have only the power to imprison—at the end of the proceedings—citizens who condemn others, especially in a foreign language as well, are not sovereign. The move by the Ljubljana court, which postponed the execution of the sentence, according to Jansa, is the first step toward abolishing the

consequences of illegal and unconstitutional verdicts by both military courts. It is impossible to imagine that the verdict could have been carried out once the Slovene Assembly commission had publicly announced that in the disputed military document there are provisions which are illegal and contrary to the principles of the state's rule of law and the spirit of the Constitution. Jansa also stressed that justice will be satisfied only when the initiators of the Ljubljana trial against the four are themselves put on trial.

Jansa does not renounce the right to hold meetings throughout the country as long as everyone holds them in their own part of the country. The content and slogans at the meetings can be disputed but the thesis that the meetings in Serbia benefit Yugoslavia, while those of Albanians in Pristina are held by irredentists and those in Ljubljana are counterrevolutionary, cannot be acceded to.

The slogan "A Powerful Serbia—A Powerful Yugoslavia" is one-sided, Jansa believes, just as is the slogan "A Weak Serbia—A Powerful Yugoslavia." He emphasizes that Yugoslavia will be strong when all its peoples are.

For a long time, the approval of the constitutional changes in a referendum has been a condition which ought to make possible the acceptance of the constitutional amendments by the Slovene people. Furthermore, owing to the nature of the constitutional amendments, a referendum is in fact Slovene autonomy in decisionmaking, and preventing or banning it is tantamount to negating the right of the people to make decisions autonomously, said Gorazd Drevensek, chairman of the University Conference of the Ljubljana University Socialist Youth Federation.

In his opinion, it is not only significant that individual amendments are controversial for some, but it is awful that we live in a state "in which political clans of individual republics can, with their demands, transfer themselves into the Middle Ages of democracy." Drevensek believes that "the Assembly is responsible for a constitution in which the basic rights of peoples have been annulled" and asks whether the Slovene Assembly is capable of adopting a constitution which will ensure for the citizens of Slovenia legal security, in the face of the arbitrariness of the federal government, and the basic rights of the peoples. "This is why we are demanding that the Assembly adopt the constitution in the only possible way in which a fundamental state can be adopted."

A referendum is necessary, and without it, a new constitution will be an expression of the arbitrariness of the Slovene authorities and of their arbitrariness in interpreting and approving the constitutional amendments. In conclusion, Drevensek reminded the gathering of tomorrow's Slovene Assembly session of the intention of both Slovene student organizations to organize in front

of the Assembly "an open university on the constitutional referendum." The intention is for Slovene intellectuals to express their stands and views on the situation and on the prospects for the Slovene people and Slovenia. However, Drevensek says, we learned today that the Ljubljana Secretariat for Internal Affairs did not permit the gathering for technical reasons. [passage omitted]

Ivan Oman, president of the Slovene Peasants Federation, said that a sovereign people must be able to elect a parliament for themselves in a free and democratic way. This parliament should put together a new democratic constitution which will be based on human rights and freedoms and will safeguard the sovereignty of the people and its public and guarantee democracy for all time. It is only in this way, Oman said, that all democratic Slovenes see a solution to the crisis.

At the same time, Oman recalled the bad experiences with all past reforms, which have all failed.

Rudi Seligo, president of the Slovene Writers Society, quoted Ivan Cankar and attempted to point out, in his style, some current events in Slovenia and among Slovenes.

Neven Kovacic, on behalf of the Zagreb ecological and peace group Svarun, supported the demands expressed at the gathering.

Among several of the banners, the following slogans could be read: "Not a Constitution like this," "One meeting doesn't mean everything," "Alien customs and alien peoples are friends, not brothers," "Whose delegates are you?," "Who is afraid of a referendum?," "Janez and the remaining Slovenes are with you."

Montenegrin Body on SFRY Constitution Changes
LD211184388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Titograd, 21 November (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly today gave its agreement to the established amendments to the SFRY Constitution and, at the same time, proposed that the procedure should be set in motion as soon as possible for developing a new, more contemporary constitution for the country.

The introductory speech in this connection was made by Velisav Vuksanovic, president of the Assembly and of its commission for constitutional issues.

The proposed constitutional changes are exceptionally important because, in terms of scope and quality, and with many essentially new solutions, they represent a solid basis for implementing the reforms which our society unitedly decided in favor of, and whose outcome vitally affects the development, stability, and destiny of the country, stressed Vuksanovic.

This assessment is valid, he added, regardless of the fact that criticisms can be made that some solutions are perhaps incomplete or that some have not been adopted, but have rather been postponed for the next phase of constitutional changes.

The new quality and essence of the changes in socioeconomic relations lies, above all, in the fact that the administrative regulation of economic and market trends is pushed into the background. This means that associated labor, on self-management bases, should ensure more effective economic activity using social resources, greater motivation for work, creativity, the application of modern techniques and technology, as a precondition for more successful involvement in the international division of labor and contemporary development processes, without which it is, objectively speaking, impossible to resolve the economic crisis. [passage omitted]

The amendments to the SFRY Constitution mean a step forward and represent a contribution to overcoming the crisis, particularly the economic crisis. They offer the possibility and create obligations for a different method of organization, behavior, responsibility, and overall work in society. [passage omitted]

The Montenegrin Assembly delegates then gave their agreement to the text of the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution.

Assembly Accepts Government Resignation
LD2111202088 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1741 GMT 21 Nov 88

[text] Titograd, Nov 21 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro today accepted unanimously and without debate the collective and irrevocable resignation of the republican government.

The resignation was tendered after five government members failed to pass a vote of confidence at an Assembly session in October.

The confidence motion followed the dispersal by police early last month of mass demonstrations of Montenegrins dissatisfied by the situation in the country, the work of the Montenegrin leadership and the delay in dealing with counter-revolutionary activities by Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

In reply to a letter by the Serbian Assembly, the Montenegrin Assembly today stressed that no Montenegrin political forum or its member said that "there is an intention in Serbia and in its leadership by sending militant groups to destabilise the political situation in Montenegro, replace the Montenegrin leadership and negate the existence of the Montenegrin nation. [no closing quotation marks as received]

In Montenegro there was only talk about the nationalist and anti-socialist acts of groups and individuals attempting to play upon the justified dissatisfaction of the demonstrators, but there was no mention of any militant groups being sent over from Serbia, the Montenegrin Assembly said.

The Montenegrin parliament said it condemns all nationalist and anti-socialist acts of individuals of groups whether they are from Montenegro or from outside.

The Assembly pointed out that it dissociates itself from everything that undermines the traditionally good cooperation between Montenegro and Serbia, from all

attempts to destabilise not only relations between the two republics, but relations inside Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations and nationalities.

The Montenegrin parliament today approved the text of amendments to the country's 1974 Constitution and suggested that proceedings for the formulation of a new constitution be launched as soon as possible.

After being approved by all six republican and two provincial assemblies, the constitutional amendments will be adopted by the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav parliament on November 25.